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The Tocharian *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka*^{*}

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For the present topic, there already exists a transcription by E. Sieg and W. Siegling (1921) and a translation by E. Sieg (1952)¹.

The texts are written in A-Tocharian language found fragmentarily in Sängim and Šorčuq. The signs after THT numbers are as follows: <T> means “Turfan Expedition”, <II> “the second”, <III> “the third”, <S> “Sängim”, <Š> “Šorčuq”, and <19.8>, for example, signifies “the original number” used in Berlin after the texts were brought from Central Asia.

I will begin this study with my transliteration of the Tocharian text (in italics). When a document is unavailable (only THT 1037), or when missing *aksaras* are unclear to me, I refer to the transcriptions of Sieg/Siegling. I then give my tentative translation in imperfect or even awkward English to remain faithful to the Tocharian grammar, followed by my commentary quoting the texts of the Uigur (Müller, F. W. K. / Gabain, A. v. *Uigurica I – IV* as is written, e.g. separated pl. sign *lar* or *ng* for *ŋ*) and Chinese in order to make the Tocharian version more understandable.

From the Tocharian materials (documents and murals) in Qizil, I will try to find a possible explanation for the concept of “Ṣaddanta” (three tusks on each side and thus six tusks altogether, or a normal pair of tusks with six colors, cf. Ito 2008 p. 185 ff.) and also “white elephant” in order to illustrate a unique feature of the Tocharian Buddhism in comparison with other versions of the *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka* of different origins.

My hope is that this study will contribute to Tocharology and Buddhology.

I. Transliteration and Translation of A-Toch. comparing with other materials

^{*} I should like to express my thanks to those who corrected my English, to Dr. Chikako Ito for some significant

¹ I have found an article written by Gregory C. Richter on the internet, which shows no place and time of issue, but I cannot give any comment on its content.

THT 1036r? (T II S 19.8; *Šaddanta-Jātaka* 1; prehistory²)

1 /// .m. *wartsi* *ākmām* *pukiS*, *pācRAS*, *l[y]*. ///

2 /// (*kak*)*nuS*, *āñkarū*³ *šeñcām* || *s[k?]e* ///

3 ///o ///

<translation>

1 ... leading the follower from the father of all (of them) ...

2 ... (both?) tusks have come to him. The effort (?) ...

THT 1036v?

6 /// (*bodhi*)*satvāNAS*, *leK*, *kāmaT*, ///

7⁴ /// .ām *subhādrām* *praKASTAR*, *tā[S]*, ///

<translation>

6 ... from the Bodhisattva, he took gesture ...

7 ... (he) asks Subhadrā, (it) would be ...

⁵THT 0721r? (T III Š 101.4; *Šaddanta-Jātaka* 2; prehistory?)

1 /// (*PA*)*lk(e)ts p(a)lka(n)TAM**, *o* (3. pl. pret. of √läk- “to see” *pälkānt* + pl. encl. /-m/)

2 /// .. *oñKalmāssé* *wā(l?)*

3 /// *ñ̄(,)* *āSTAR**, *lyu kala(viñk?)*

4 /// *l. eseñc**, • *TMAS*, *bo*

5 /// [*t*]*ā[k].āy**, *āyiM*, •

6 ///

² According to Sieg THT 1036 and THT 721 are “Vorgeschichte” (cf. Sieg 1952 p. 7, see below fn. 4 about THT 721). From the few words we can assume it to be related with the *Šaddanta-Jātaka*. Sieg/Siegling could not decide the recto/verso with (?), but I suppose that the verso could be the recto, because the tusks came again to the elephant as before.

³ -ū is a *hapax legomenon*. From (*kak*)*nuS* *šeñcām* this could be a pl. nom. form as in Poucha p. 17 (pl. b) and TEB II p. 80, but it is possible to see it as a dual form, which is not attested in A-Toch. Seeing that there exists the pl. nom. form *āñkari* and the pair organs for body part (“Paral” in TEB p. 76), e.g. *klośam* “(a pair of two ears”, which could strengthen my hypothesis.

⁴ This line number is given by Sieg/Siegling because of THT 1037 (7 lines altogether). We cannot see THT 1037, but Sieg/Siegling recognized that both fragments, which were found in Sāngim together with other Avadāna-texts (cf. Tocharische Sprachreste p. 222), belong to a same group.

⁵ This fragment is not certainly to be taken as “Vorgeschichte” of the *Šaddanta-Jātaka* (see fn. 2 *supra*), because only *oñKalmāssé* *wāl* (and synonym *oñKalmēñ* *wāL*) could be related to the story. Presumably Sieg took his idea from other Toch. Jātaka, e.g. Arañemi-Jātaka. Hereafter I try to find the significance of the *Šaddanta-Jātaka* by comparing other versions, although a correspondence between the Toch. and others is not definitive, while a comparative study is useful to understand the content. The *Šaddanta-Jātaka* was so famous and popular that there are diachronic and synchronic developments in different places. Thus it is important to identify relations between various versions for understanding the development of Buddhist literature through the *Šaddanta-Jātaka*.

<translation>

- 1 ... they saw the shining ...
- 2 ... the king(?) of elephants ...
- 3 ... pure, he sent (sparrow?) ...
- 4 ... they give ... • Then (the Bodhisattva?) ...
- 5 ... I might give ... •

THT 0721v?

1 /// ..

2 /// .. *s(a)tk(a)r ṣṭāMAntu*⁶ :3 /// || *ālyākyām prasṭam*⁷4 /// [c]iñcri oppal pāKA(r)⁸5 /// (o)ñKAlmem wäL*⁹ na6 /// l.. *ywārcka*¹⁰ : mā nas(←s?) ñā(kci?)

<translation>

2 ... trees spread

3 ... || in another time

4 ... lovely lotus (is) obviously (to see?)

5 ... the elephant-king ...

6 ... in the midst of ... : It is not divine(?)

THT 1037r (T II S 19.9; *Saddanta-Jātaka* 3; no photo)1 /// *śi śruM*¹¹ : *ku + + + + + + yo plont. + + + .ñu* ///2 /// [KA]lyme + + + *osāT, pyāppyāsyo*¹² *twantamyo ā(pat)*¹³ ///⁶ 根本有部律藥事 卷 15 (hereafter 藥事) T24.71.a4: 叢林之中。⁷ 藥事 T24.71.a7: 是時象王出群。⁸ 雜寶藏經 卷第二 (hereafter 雜寶藏經) T04.454a8: 賢。林中遊行。偶值蓮花。意欲與賢。善賢⁹ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a9: 奪去。賢見奪華。生嫉妬心。彼象愛於善賢¹⁰ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a10: 而不愛我。時彼山中有佛塔。¹¹ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a6: 因緣。¹² 雜寶藏經 T04.454a10-11: 賢常採花 供養。¹³ *ā(pat)* “(turning) on the right” is completed by Sieg, and he compared Toch. *twantam* with Khot. *tvandanā* which could reflect Skt. *vandana* (cf. Sieg 1944 p. 28 fn. 10). According to Bailey (1979, p. 145) *tvandanu* “reverently” is composed from *ati-van-* (*van-* “honour” < **vand-*>) with absolute *-danu*. I suppose that *ati-van-* → *tvan-* is rather *ad hoc* on phonetic and phonologic grounds, because two vowels did not disappear without any trace, and also Khot. → Toch. is impossible from a diachronic perspective. *āpat twantam* could correspond to Skt. *pradakṣinā* (cf. Ji Xianlin 1998, p. 76 note 9 and p. 104 note 5), but here *twantam-yo* (instr.) it is not the object for *osāt yatsi* “began to do”, if the missing part is *ā(pat yatsi)*, as in THT 657r6 *āpaT, twantam yatsi osāT*. One possibility is that Skt. *pradakṣinā* corresponds to Toch. *āpat*, and *twantam* could be a subs. meaning “admiration (with light ← Toch. *ñtu* “to ignite”??)”. This hypothesis fits with other cases (THT 657r6, 846r3, Ji 1998 p. 74 b1 and p. 102 a6), but from Uig. *tägzinip* (cf. Geng/Klimkeit 1988 Teil I, p. 140 8a3) *ñtegiz-in* “to

3 /// (ākāL, ri)[t]āśi osāT,¹⁴ || apratitulyenām (4x25) || ///

4 /// (walu)RAS, mahendra[se]neS, lānT, īu(K, ckācaR, cmimāR,) /// (cf. fn. 14: 我生人中;
我生生之處 “when I will be reborn in mankind”)

5 /// (kā)pñe[S,] (wā)r[p]e opyāc, (PAklār īi (cf. fn. 14: 自識宿命 “I will recognize my fate”):
SAK, āñkaRAS,)¹⁵ ///

6 /// (TMAS, sā)M(.) bhādrā oñKAlmā(ñc¹⁶ šu)LAS, ā[y].¹⁷ ///

7 /// śnaśim kāpñuneyo pra(kte ypa)nT, TA .k. ///

<translation>

- 1 ... a cause of ... : ...
- 2 ... direction ... (she) began (to honor *stūpa*?) with flowers and *pradakṣīna* ...
- 3 ... (she) began to (preserve a wish). || in the meter of Apratitulye || ...
- 4 ... after (my) death, I (would like to be born (as) a daughter) of the king Mahendrahena ...
- 5 ... I enjoyed loveliness. Remember (me)! : ...
- 6 ... (then) Bhadrā, female elephant, (jumped down) from the mountain. ...
- 7 ... with the love of woman, making penalty ...

THT 1037v

revolve” (cf. Clauson 1972, p. 488) *twantam* could mean “revolving”. Another possibility is to see *twantam* as “right (side)” and *āpat* as “revolving”, if this word came from Skt. *āpatti* “Umwandlung” (cf. Böhtlingk p. 176). In the Toch. there was no word or compound for Skt. *pradakṣīṇā*, so they used two words for Skt. concept, and then the two words were imported into Uig. including the meanings, although the cases were different because of each grammar and syntax (Toch. adv. *āpat/twantam* = Uig. directive *oñaru*; Toch. obl.? *āpat/twantam* = Uig. converb *tāgzinip*). I prefer to see *twantam* (= *oñaru*) as Toch. adv./obl. with -*m*, and *āpat* as a loanword from Skt. *āpatti*. Regardless, I suppose that *twantam* is not a loanword from Khot. (or others), but Toch. autochthon, and used as a translation for Skt word. Another possibility is a translation for Chin. 右繞, i.e. “right” could be *twantam/āpat* and 繻 “to revolve” could be *āpat/twantam* (not phonetic, cf. Pulleyblank 1991 p. 379 右 *wuw'* p. 265 繻 *jiaw'*, but semantic), and these two words are found only in A-Toch., and used for Buddhist terminology in relatively late time in the Toch. history. One of these two combined words could mean Skt. *pradakṣīṇā*, and the word order is not important (*twantam āpat* or *āpat twantam*). It could be the case here. I would complete the sentence as *osāT, pyāppyāsyo twantamyo ā(pat winās(t)si)* “she began to honor (him) with flowers (and) *pradakṣīnā* (= 右繞)”, whose inf. *winās(t)si* is not attested, but from p.pr. *wināsmām* (THT 886 v7) I guess this form. There is no 右繞 in 雜寶藏經 (only 供養 “memorial service”), therefore I suppose that this terminology was added to Toch. version of this Jātaka, then exported to Uig.

¹⁴ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a11–12: 即發願言。我生人中。自識宿命。并拔此白象牙取。; 藥事 T24.71a12–13: 遂便發願。願我生生之處。能害二人。

¹⁵ This was completed by Sieg. After him only ā- of ā(ñkaRAS) can be seen. I would not give my translation for this part, because I am not sure, whether SAK, āñkaRAS, comes here surely, and even if this complement is right, the meaning could be “six tusks”, but “six-colored tusks” is possible, as I will argue later. In Chin. (see previous fn.) we see 白象牙 “the tusk of the white elephant”.

¹⁶ This passage is complemented and translated by Sieg as “(Darauf) stürzte sich (?) die Bhadrā, die Elephantin, von dem Berge herab (?). He thought that “Bhadrā” and “female elephant” are appositional, but no feminine form of *oñkalām* is attested. Presumably Sieg supposed this fem. form from SSS p. 30, §53, although a loan suffix or morpheme from Sogd. is hardly thinkable, and Müller mentioned that it is not sure (cf. Uigurica 1908, p. 47 Note “Das Femininsuffix -āñc, das seine nächste Parallele in soghdisch -ñc zu finden scheint”), and also I find no good explanation for -ā- of -āñc (feminine suffix??), but it could be so, when the Chin. (see below next fn.) corresponds our text (the subject is Bhadrā).

¹⁷ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a12: 即上山頭。自撲而死。; 藥事 T24.71a14: 於山頂上。投身而下。便即命終。

1 /// (sās nu tāPArK, plāc, mahendra)s(e)nes lānT, lāñci waſ[t](am KArsnā)lyi tmam nu m.

///

2 /// ñakteS, kāswoneyo + + tsı : ciñcr[am] ///

3 /// (pā)cri āri(ñc, p)r(ā)KAR, em(tsāT, 1¹⁸ || TMAş sāM..) ///

4 /// ş(e)ñcām || TMAŞ, ja[mbu]dvipşini wārts[k]ā(ñ, lāñş, temi) ///

5 /// PArsanT, p(e)kaR, ¹⁹ || śinikur(am) || kul(eñci ñemi) ///

6 /// (MA)śkitā(ñ,) + + + : şakk atS, āyiTAM, kāswone(yo) ///

7 /// (āleyam şā)nwenyo PA[s](k)ā(T,) + + + (kuya)lte²⁰ • || wā ///

<translation>

1 ... but now (scene-change?)²¹ this speech of the king Mahendrasena is to hear(←know) in the palace. There, however ...

2 ... with divine virtue to ... : lovely ...

3 ... she (took) the heart of the father firmly (• || Then she) ...

4 ... for her they were ... || Then the neighboring (kings of) India ... (for her) ...

5 ... charming gesture. || in the meter of Śinikur (4x12) || A woman's (jewel) ...

6 ... princes(?) ... : Surely you should give us (them because of your) virtue ...

7 ... he (scil. Mahendrasena) thought with chin (in his palm)(←resting his chin on his hands) ... pretty(?) • || ...

THT 0699r (T III Š 80.3; *Şaddanta-Jātaka* 4; Uigurica II, p. 20 ff.)

1 /// (sne nā)KAm naſT*, taNAk şurmaŞ TAş ñi krāso kakmu PAlkār ckācaR*, || sāntawantākam (4x7/7) || aRAmpātṣi kāswo-

2 (ne) + + + + + + (:) + + + + (ci)ñcrone puK KAlymentwām SAtko tñi : sāwām wārtskās ypeyāntwāŞ*, kakmuşş ārtañ lāñcāssé : şñi şoL*,

¹⁸ Sieg/Siegling transcribed this mark  as a figure “1” earlier ||, but I prefer to see it as punctuation “•”, because there are so many “1” in the manuscripts without 2, 3, and so on, and also the shape is too short in width for “1”. The shape of this mark looks more like a *virāma* comma over *aksaras* after *virāma* line, which is used as *virāma* and punctuation in the same time (two functions with one sign) in other Toch. manuscripts. Of course “1” is possible before ||, but in my translation I use “•” for this mark.

¹⁹ Sieg translated this passage as “Briefe schrieben sie”, but it is dubious because of the pl. of the predicate and the purpose of “letters” in the context. From next words “woman's jewel” it is better to see *PArsanT, p(i)kaR*, “charming gesture(s)”, if *pikār* is *metri kausa* for *pikāres* (pl. obl.), and *PArsanT* as *nomina agentis* of \pärs-“sprinkling/sprinkler of (attractive) gesture”. Without a photo it is difficult to find any good or comprehensive solution.

²⁰ (kuya)lte is a supplement of Sieg. (*lākātsi kāwā*)lte “(his daughter) is pretty to see” as in THT713r2 (see below *Şaddanta-Jātaka* 11) is also possible.

²¹ In the part from here (the anxiety of the father) until the *svayamvara*-story, we can find no correspondence in the Chin. versions. This part was added in the Toch. and exported to the Uig. The Chin. depicts simply this part as 毘提醯王家作女。自知宿命。年既長大。與梵摩達王爲婦。(雜寶藏經 T04.454a13-14) “She was born in the royal family of Videha knowing her fate. When she grew up, she became the wife of Brahmadatta”. Similarly in 藥事 T24.71a16: 漸漸長大。嫁與隣國梵德大王。“gradually she grew up, and married the great king Brahmadatta in a neighboring country”.

3 + + + + + o §. *ñemi pā{m}santRA* : • *şomāp lānT**, *eM**, *kuprene cu ālyek yäsluš tāke*
ñi : śmeñc”, *śtwar wäknā ratkaśsāL*,
 4 + + + + + o : *caŞ NAş krāso cu şurmaŞ PALtSAñkātsi TPAr ştāñkam* : *lymā āleyam*
*śanwemyo PPAlskār ckācar MAnT**, *ya*
 5 (l ñi 2) /// (ā)kāl ritorā tātmus nasaM*, *ŞAkk atsek nāñi brahmadatte wäl patS MAskaL**,
mā nu ñkā yātaL MAccākye
 6 /// (TMA)ş *lāntac* (*tRA*)ñKAş²² *nāTA[k]* tam şurmaş tu *maR**, *yutkatāR**²³ *kyalte tiri*
*tşam TMAk māK**, *māki[ss]*²⁴ *ārtus [l]ānT**²⁵ ..

<translation>

1 ... you are immaculate. Still for(←from) this reason a concern appeared(←came) to me.
 Look, (my) daughter! || in the meter of Śāntawantāk || The beauty of (your) shape ...

2 ... your loveliness is known(←scattered) in all directions. : From big neighboring counties
 (many) solicitors of kings came. : (Her?) own life ...

3 ... they guard the jewel. : • If I give you to one king, others will be my enemies. : They will
 come with four kinds(←ways) of armies.

4 ... This concern because of you (is) to consider, in the high palace : I sat with chin in (my)
 palm. Consider, (my) daughter! How (I should do? 2)

5 ... I was born in preserving desire. Surely the king Brahmadatta should be my husband, but
 I cannot decide it (←it should not be capable by me). For myself ...

6 ... (Then) she tells to the king. My lord! You do not worry yourself, because here (there is)
 nothing to worry (←no way) at all. I am praised by(←of) many (people). (One) king's
 (son I will decide as my husband (cf. Uigurica II p. 21 line 8–9)) ...

THT 0699v

1 /// (TA)[m]y(o) [ñuk p](e)[n]u svayamparam tSAlpoRAS*²⁶ şñi MAnwā [p]ats yāmmār
 mar tñi ñātse kumnāŞ* || kātkmām [n](ām̄tsu)
 2 /// TMAş mahendrasene wāL*, āmāśās²⁷ kākkropuRAS ceSMAK*, ārtaşşı anapRA ypeyam

²² Uigurica II p. 21 line 3: *atasi bāgkā inčā tip ... [ti]di* “to her father, lord, she said so”.

²³ Uigurica II p. 21 line 3–4: *qangim uluy ilig bosušluy saqinčliy bolmazun* “My father, great king! Do not be grieved (and) pensive”. In Uig. we can see a binomial system in order to understand the passage better.

²⁴ The gen. subject for p.p. nom. sg. f. *ārtus*.

²⁵ A-Toch. *lānt* shows an obl. and also a gen. (B-Toch. *lānte*) because of apocope in A-Toch. From Uig. *yirtinčüdäki bāglärkä* “den in der Welt befindlichen Fürsten” (related words with dat., cf. Uigurica II p. 21 line 5; Gabain 1974 p. 85), I assume a gen. form related to *mākis* meaning “of many king(s)”, which features a collective concept in sg. form, while Uig. shows a normal or logical pl. form.

²⁶ This is an absolute form from *vtśäl* “to go beyond, to be released”. The Uig. used *converbum* for it, i.e. *yangi kün qiliq* “(after I) make new day”, which could be an idiomatic expression in Uig. The function of both verbal forms is the same.

²⁷ *āmāśās* is obl. pl. of *āmāś* which is a loan word from Skt. *amātya* “minister”. The continual long vowels are against “Vokalbalance” in A-Toch. (cf. TEB I § 11, p. 45; Tamai 2011, Einleitung XXIX). This phenomenon occurs at random not only in the area of loan words, but also in autochthons, while in B-Toch. the accent rule is

TPAssi woTAK ||*

3 /// (4x25) || *puK* KA*○*lyme<n>twam puK* ypeyu PAklyoSAS lānT* mahendraseneS ckācaR* kuleñci ñemi bhādrā ñoM : yu-*

4 (kos) + + + + + ○ *kārnaS* kom PAkāñcām KAlyme riyiS swayamparśim lameyam : kene kusne nañ nati muk tampe oñi*

5 (cmolşı) + + + + + + + + + + + + + *M* : ārwar yāmuRAs cam kom tāM* tkanā puKMAS knaTRAM* rito ākāL* plāntac²⁸ kuleñcim ñemiyō*

6 /// [v](i)*dehaK*²⁸ riyāS* LcāR* cam wraM* ñi ñi ypeyac KAkoRAS* lāñcāssí ākṣiññāR* TMAṣ ceM**

<translation>

1 ... Therefore having made(←released) a husband selection (=svayamvara), in my own estimate, I also will decide(←make) (my) husband. You need not worry. (←Not to you a danger comes.) || (It was) pleased

2 ... whereupon the king Mahendrasena, having gathered the ministers, equally to them ordered to announce to(←in) the country in front of solicitors. ||

3 ... || In all directions, all countrymen (must) hear! The daughter of the king Mahendrasena, a woman's jewel, Bhadrā by name : exceeded

4 ... (she) comes(←climbs) down to the place of husband selection in the east direction of the town. : Who possesses power, ability and mighty of human being ...

5 ... : Having prepared, you must come to the place(←earth) in the day(time). The preserved desire comes to you. You enjoy yourself with the woman's jewel.

6 ... they(= messengers) left the town Videha. Having gone to each countries, they announced the topic(←thing) to the kings (of countries). Then they ...

THT 0691r (T III Š 85.4; *Şaddanta-Jātaka* 5, Uigurica II p. 20 ff.)

1 /// .. *şome şäpsaşsäl riwoS*²⁹ klyoMAS : bhādrānam tuñK* kāpñune³⁰ [pā]KA*

2 (r *yāmuS.*) /// *penu lāñcāS MAşkitāssi potluneyntu āsuK KAkoRAS PALtSAñkāS*

3 /// (a)*sitakirinam* (4x18) || *ke mosan ne pyāppyāsyo khadgavişāñakalpes yärka-*

recognized regularly after 6th century (before that period, there existed so called “MQ-Schreibung”, cf. Krause 1952 § 1). From this occurrence, I would mention my hypothesis that A-Toch. was an artificial language for Buddhism (cf. Tamai 2011, p. 418). For this word, Uig. used *arqiş yalavač-lar-iy* (pl. acc.) “Karavanen und Boten” (cf. Uigurica II p. 21 line 18), which would be binomial, and show “group flection” as in Toch.

²⁸ -K is a reinforcing particle. The city name *Videha*, according to Akanuma (p. 763) including its capital *Mithilā* (p. 426), has no relation with this Jātaka. It could be just a famous city name in India. The Chin. is 比提醯 pítixī (雜寶藏經 T04.454a13) or 比提國 pítí-country (藥事 T24.71a14).

²⁹ According to Sieg *riwoş* is a scribal error for *triwoş* “mixed” as in THT 1070v3, although the meaning of *şäpsaşsäl* is unknown (committative *-aşsäl* “with ...”). From context, it could be an apposition of *klyom* “noble”. One possibility is “mixed with people of good families” (Skt. *kulajana?*).

³⁰ *tuñk* and *kāpñune* are synonyms and used as binomial for strengthening or clarifying the meaning as in Uig.

4 (nT, *yāmwā*) /// *ñi TApRAm šuLAS*³¹ : *ke mosan ne ṣaddandem*³² *oñKAlmāssé lānT**, *rise*
 5 /// (*ñi ā*)[*k*]ālyo : • || *TMAŞ, bhādrāy* „*noşpem*(?) *priyasundari*³³ *śla wārPAşlune o*
 6 (*ki*) /// *svarṇapuśpenam* (4x18) || *ñäktañ ñäkcyās wimāntwāS**, *litatsy oki škitā(?)*-
 <translation>

1 ... some (of solicitors) were from(←mixed with) good families(?) (and they were) noble, : with(←in) Bhadrā obviously they fell in love (←they made obvious love) ...

2 ... having passed over the politeness of kings and princes she (scil. Bhadrā) thinks ...

3 ... in the meter of Asitakiri || For what reason did I make homage of *Khadgaviṣāṇakalpa*³⁴ (scil. *Pratyekabuddha*) with flowers? ...

4 ... from high mountain. : For what reason did I leave Ṣaddanda, the king of elephants?

5 ... with (my) desire. : • || Then Priyasundarī (gave?) *noşpe*(?) of/for Bhadrā as if she is stimulated (←as it were with stimulus) ...

6 ... in the meter of Svarṇapuspe || Gods appear(?) as if they fell down from heavenly palaces.

THT 0691v

1 /// *arseñc* „*kranT**, *pikāryo* : *LAñkseñc* „*hāRAs wrokṣiNAS, skeneñc o-*
 2 (*ki*) /// (*ākā*)*l tsopatSAm* *śloko yatsi* : • || *TMAŞ, bhādrā* *āriñcṣi* *ākāl pākraśi*
 3 (*ypamām*) /// (*lke*)ñc *pe aśām*³⁵ *kranT**, *wraMAm* *swāRAm* *rake klyosnseñc* *pe klośām*³⁵

³¹ 雜譬喻經 T04.504b09–11 即便放身自投山下而死 “Soon she threw herself from the top of (←downward to the foot of) mountain and died”.

³² Here *ṣaddande* is a name of the elephant-king. The scribe wrote a Tocharian style for Skt. *ṣaddanda*, i.e. *ṣad* for *sad* “six” and Toch. nom. sg. m. -e (obl. is -em as here). Presumably the scribe had no concept “six tusks”, but the normal “a pair of tusks (two tusks)” as is painted on the walls in Qizil (also in Ajanṭa No. 17).

³³ The name of *priyasundari* is unknown in Akanuma, while *sundarī* is found in many cases (ibid. p. 662). In Uigurica II p. 22, we can see the name of *Śaci* (Indra’s wife) or *Kāminī* (a maid). About the name I see confusion or contamination in Buddhist literature. In any case *priyasundari* is nom., and *bhādrāy* is the gen. form functioning as attributive or expressing dative sense, but *noşpem* is unknown. Our text is too fragmentary to see the context including a meaning of the word. Apropos to this we can see the name of the inferior wife 小夫人者好首是 in 六度集經 (T03.17b28) and in other Chin. texts. This 好首 is a translation of Skt. *Subhadra*. I quote the Early Middle Chinese pronunciation in Pulleyblank 1991: Skt. *su-* = 好 *xaw* “good” from the meaning, but 首 *euw^h* is difficult to understand. At first I assumed a phonetic change from 祥 *zian* “benediction” = Skt. *bhadra* (cf. *Mahāvyutpatti* No. 3352) just like the opinion of Feer, a phonetic change from Skt. *Cañcā* (cf. Feer 1895 p. 192 ff.), but this is quite dubious. Another possibility is a semantic translation as in 好. In China 首 was used for Skt. *śrī* (Prof. Karashima’s suggestion). If the Chinese translator felt that the Skt. *bhadra* was similar to Skt. *śrī* semantically, 首 could be used for Skt. *bhadra*, but I am not sure of this. In China there could be confusions about names inclusive -ā, i.e. fem. or masc. as Feer argued, but in India *Subhadrā* and *Cañcā* are distinctive in different tales.

³⁴ Epithet of *Pratyekabuddha*, cf. Edgerton p. 202 and *Mahāvyutpatti* No. 1006: 如犀角 “like a rhinoceros”, 獨覺 “attaining enlightenment alone”, i.e. living a lonely life. 雜譬喻經 T04.504b09–11 小夫人遂益妬忿念欲害王 ... 採取美果每供養百辟支佛 “Eventually the inferior wife felt jealousy and grudge (and) wished to kill the king ... (for that reason) she took delicious fruits (and) always offered (them) to all *Pratyekabuddhas*”.

³⁵ *aśām* and *klośām* are “Paral” (body part in pairs, cf. TEB I, § 68, p. 77), whose ending is -ne in B-Toch., -m in A-Toch. (because of apocope). The dual was mostly lost and replaced by pl., but partly remained. In the area of subs., -i as dual ending in both Toch. (dual -ñc in B-Toch. from -nt-i?). In B-Toch. -ne is confused with loc., e.g. -ne-ne → -ne, in A-Toch. -m is confused with obl., and -i with pl., because each pairs are same in phonetic,

nāñi : yā

4 /// .. *sRAñkāS** : *PAlkāmār pe ālyeksac*~, *PAśRAm PLAkyo tārśom yarM*, *yā-*

5 (*mmāR*) /// *[l]ym.ne* : • || *TAm kaklyuṣuRAṣ mitre tRAñKAS**, *wTAK SAS svayampār k_uyalte*

6 /// (*lāñcāss̄i k_urekāri* || *kokāliknam* || *śtwar nemishiñi sumeri oki l[k]ā(ntRA)*

<translation>

1 ... they call (her?) by good behavior, : they made necklaces of pearls hang down (on her breast?), as if they made effort ...

2 ... to make big desire realize(←with success). • || Then Bhadrā, revealing her heartfelt desire, ...

3 ... also my two eyes see good things, also my two ears hear the sweet word. : ...

4 ... (it) boils. : I will see also to others, with sharp view I will see into (←measure) a fraud.

5 ... : • || Having heard it, Mitra says “This husband selection is over(←decided), because ...”

6 ... the palaces of kings. || in the meter of Kokālik(a) || They look like Sumeru (mountains which consisted) of four jewels.

THT 0711r (T III Š 101.3; *Saddanta-Jātaka* 6; Uigurica III)

1 /// ³⁶(*tRAñKAṣ nāTA(K*, mar) t(añne) tRAñKAT**.) + + + + . *wramm atS, ḪApnasañ*³⁷
lkātRA mā mā naṣ wra + + + + +

2 /// .. *tākeñc*~, *PKAnT**, *PKAnT, nu (l)kā(ntRA tkanā) ḥyak penu sāmudram tom wraMAm*
p_ukā[k] neñc~, *ś(me)[ñc]*, + + + +

3 /// ○ .§. *Ṣ[P]Am lkāl tsopa(tS) wāL**, *cañ [wra]man ne(ṣa)ṣi praṣṭam āklye yāmu cam*
ṣoM, lkā[L,] ... + + + +*

which developed into phonology. Due to confusions, I suppose that there was no difference between “Paral” (cf. fn. 3 *supra*) and “dual”, or there was originally no “Paral”(?). If *-ne* might be constructed by an obl. /n/ and a dual ending /i/, i.e. *n-i → ne*, the original /i/ (Indo-European *h¹?) as dual ending is conserved in Toch. This means that there remained a concept of the dual in Toch. Although there was a transition from dual to pl., we can see the dual form beside pl. form in the paradigm, e.g. *pem* (dual) and *peyu/peñ* (pl.) for *pe* “foot” (cf. TEB II p. 118). In the case of *peyu*, I do not recognize the pl. as in TEB, but the dual from contexts (THT641r5, 836v6, 1065v1), i.e. two dual forms, *pem* and *peyu*. If this is right, *āñkarū* (see fn. 2 *supra*) is also a dual form “a pair of tusks”.

³⁶ Uigurica III p. 54, T.III,M.84v2–5: *batra qatun incā tip [tidij] ... ilig māning tūlūm-kā sizigsiz bolzum mn tūšāmiš tūlūm adīnsīy bolmaz* “Die Königin Bhadrā sprach: Der König möge an meinem Traume nicht zweifeln! Der Traum, den ich geträumt habe, ist nicht anderes!”

³⁷ The loc. pl. form is not *ṣäpnasañ* as in Poucha p. 355, but *ṣäpnantwam*, because the nom. pl. is *ṣäpnant* (cf. TEB p. 123). It could be a scribal error for *ṢApnam* (*anusvāra* for loc. sg., is forgotten) and *sam* (demonstrative pronoun related to *wramm*), i.e. two separated words. And the negative particle *mā* in the end of the sentence is not attested as in Sieg’s translation. *mā mā* is also not attested. If it is a strengthened negation, it should be *mā ontam*. Presumably *metri causa* it is so written. My hypothesis is supported by Uig. (see *supra* T.III,M.84v3 *tūlūm* “my dream” in sg.!) and more understandable than Sieg’s for the context.

4 /// ○ *tricām nu lkāL* kācās ne pra(s)[k]i [n](e)ñc(i) tāS, [:] ś[ta]rcām lkāL PAlkonT**
kaklyuṣ(u)nT + + + + + + +*

5 /// *(opyāc̄.) klonT* : knāna(T) S(PAṁ n)āñi [MAT]n(e) .urmaś. [ā]k(ā)l(a)[c]̄(.) śkam*
kākku șet ñi + + + + + + + +

6 /// *(kākma)rtt (o)ki poñcām (p)otoyo lāntsānac tRAñKAŞ, TAmn(e) tāS* kloimiñ lawam*
ś(arwas) + + + + + + + +

<translation>

1 ... ³⁸(she) says : “My lord! You do (not) say (so) ... even (this) thing is seen in the dream³⁹,
 there is not (such a thing) at all ...

2 ... they would be ... they (are seen) one by one (on the earth), the things are (to see) also on
 all of the sea, they would come ...

3 ... the dream picture. My great king! (Who) recognized it (←made teaching) in this things
 in earlier time, (will) ... this single picture ...

4 ... but the third dream, from which there would be a fear surely(?). : (To the one, who) saw
 and heard the fourth dream, ...

5 ... (to the one, who) memorized. : You know my (dream), how ... and for my desire you
 called ...

6 ... like a lord he says to the queen with full(←all) honor(s). “It should be so, my noble
 woman! I will send (hunters).” ...

THT 0711v

1 /// ⁴⁰*(kā)kropuRAŞ tRAñKAŞ⁴¹ p(i)c cā[mpl]uMAş kusne SAm lā[n]tsānā SPAṁ PAlko*
o(ñkaLAṁ) + + + + + + + +

2 /// ⁴²*TAm kaklyuṣuRA(ş) m[o](klāñ̄. śa)rwañ (l)ā(ntac) tRA[ñk]iñc̄. nā[TA]K*, toş*

³⁸ Uigurica III p. 54 T.III.M.84v1–5: öngrädäbärü bu muntay yanga ... miśim yoy batra qatun inčä tip [tidi] ... ilig māning tūlümkä sizigsiz bolzun mn tūšāmiš tūlüm adinsiy bolmaz “früher [von] einem solchen Elefanten habe ich nicht [gehört]. (hereafter the same as in fn. 36 *supra*)

³⁹ The dream of Bhadrā is mentioned shortly at the end of Uig. T.II Y.52,1 (line 27–28, Uigurica II p. 24): *bu muntay tūl tišäyür-mn tip ... • anta ötrü batra qatun* “diesen derartigen Traum träume ich, so ... Darauf die Königin Bhadrā”, and some detailed explanations about her dream are mentioned in Uigurica III p. 54 T.III.M.84r9–18: “Infolge ihrer bösen Gesinnung in einem früheren Leben pflegte nun jene Königin Bhadrā so zu handeln: Mit schlimmen Frauengedanken pflegte sie dem König Brahmadatta (etwas) vorzulügen. Wenn sie beabsichtigte eine eigentlich nicht zu tuende Tat auszuführen, dann pflegte sie zu sagen: ‘Ich habe den und den Traum geträumt.’ Dann, um den König zur Liebe zu reizen, sprach sie täglich mit edlen, sanften Worten zu ihm.”

⁴⁰ Uigurica III p. 54–55 T.III.M.84v5–9: *anta ötrü brxmadati ilig käyikčilärig oyip amray yuncui batra qatun-nung tūšāmiš tūliniyin käzicä tükäl ularqa sözlädi* “Darauf berief der König Brahmadatta die Jäger und erzählte ihnen ausführlich und der Reihe nach den Traum, den seine geliebte Gattin, die Königin Bhadrā geträumt hatte”.

⁴¹ 藥事 T24.71.a21: 獵師集已。告曰。“the hunters got together already, (the king) said”.

⁴² Uigurica III p. 55 T.III.M.84v12–16: *ol käyikčilär ilig bāgning bu muntay yrlīyin äşidip ärtinqü yoryup inčä tip otüntilär yayız yir ärkligi uluy ilig-a başimaz dayi qara sačimaz uči bōlüki yiryilatyuq ol* “Als sie solche Worte des Königs vernahmen, befiehl die Jäger Furcht, so daß sie demütig antworteten: O großer König, Beherrsch der braunen Erde! Die Spitze und die Locke unserer schwarzen Haare auf unserem Kopfe ist grau

waSAM śā(kwisi) + + + + + + + +

3 /// ⁴³(mā ontam ka)○klyuṣuS*, śeMAS TAmne [wā](knā) onkaLAm [na]ś ku[c] śkam
PAlkos tāMA[S], ⁴⁴ || + + + + + + +

4 /// ⁴⁵(oñKA)lme āñkaRAS, klā(c)är kā[su]⁴⁶ ku[prene] (nu) mā klācär SAPTAñcäm
koTA[ry]o pukāK, [a]rñā(m kolune)⁴⁷ + + +

5 /// || lātS, PAltskāt mā onta(m SAM*, śaru) naś kusne caM*, oñkaLAM*, sne
ā[k]śiñ[lu](ne) + + + +

6 /// .. • TMAŚ*, lāt(S)*, (m)ok(l)ās śa(rwaS, śyaK*) [k]ā[kku]RAś k[u]sne cesmam PAñ
wāknā⁴⁸ dhanu(rvedāñ..) + +

<translation>

1 ... Having gathered hunters, he says, “(Here we) go! (Men of) ability! The elephant, which is seen by the queen (in her) dream, (exists or not)” ...

2 ... Having heard it, old hunters say to (the king), “Our lord! These ... of our (hair) ...”

3 ... we have (never) heard (at all, that) there is such an elephant, let alone (we have) seen (it).

|| ...

4 ... (it is) good, (when) you will bring the elephant’s tusks, but if you would not bring them, I will make (your families) kill (←call a killing) through seven generations altogether⁴⁹

...

geworden”.

⁴³ Uigurica III p. 55 T.III.M.84v16–20: tālim öküš yil ai ärtdi uzatī biz av aylamaqa ... a itärlä(??) ... tiyür biz .. bu muntay ... qariyuy biz ... anča ... muntay yīngay “viele Jahre und Monate sind vergangen, lange haben wir die Jagd ... [ausgeübt], wir sind alt geworden, [aber] von einem solchen ... [Elephanten] ... [in einer] solchen Gegend ... [nichts vernommen]”.

⁴⁴ The story in 葉事 is changed from the conversation between the king and the old hunter (in Toch.) to the order of the chief to the hunters. 葉事 T2471.a22-23: 其獵師大將告獵人曰。汝等並散。各歸本業。我獨自往取其象牙。“the chief of hunters told the hunters: You break up altogether (and) return to your own job! I alone go to get those elephant-tusks.”

⁴⁵ Uigurica III p. 55 T.III.M.84v9–12: birök māning bu išimin pütırsär sizlär uluy türliğ ačiý ayriý bar .. pütırü umasar sızlar yitinč oyušunguzlarnı birlä yoy yodun yilurmn “Wenn ihr dieses mein Werk ausführt, so stehen (euch) große Schmerzen bevor, wenn ihr es (aber) nicht ausführen könnt, so werde ich (euch) bis zur siebenten Verwandtschaft insgesamt vernichten”. “große Schmerzen bevorstehen” is not understandable from Toch. version. From Chin. 雜寶藏經 T04.454a16–17: 若不爾者。我不能活。In Chin. the words of Bhadrā before the king called hunters, while in Toch. and Uig. the words of the king, but the content is opposite (“good” vs. “Schmerzen”). This part is confused.

⁴⁶ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a16–17: 若有能得象牙來者。當與百兩金。“If you can get the elephant-tusks, I will give hundred-liang of gold”.

⁴⁷ 大乘大集地藏十輪經 卷第四 (hereafter 大乘大集地藏十輪經) T13.741c10: 若不得者。汝等五人定無活義。“If you do not get (the tusks), you, five men, should (take) no meaning in surely living”.

⁴⁸ The “five ways” of shooting techniques of bow is unclear. In Chin. 五人 “five persons” (see fn. *supra*). I suppose that there was some confusion (“seven generations” and “five ways” in Toch. vs. “five persons” in Chin.). In Chin. the hunter was expressed as 旃荼羅 (op. cit. T13.741.c11) Skt. *cañḍāla*, which can be seen in Toch., namely in THT 118r5, 589v5 (B-Toch.) and 689v1 (A-Toch.). The Chin. version was compiled in 651 CE (cf. Sugimoto p. 10), and the Toch. version was written in 7th – 8th century CE (cf. Tamai p. 374: THT 694 from Šorčuq in A-Toch. was written in 669 – 780 CE attested by ¹⁴C-test, whose style of handwriting is same as our text), therefore the Toch. could be translated from Chin. (or in reversed direction?) incorrectly.

⁴⁹ This passage (through seven generations ...) is mentioned only in Toch. and Uig. It was compiled in Toch. and transmitted to Uig.

5 ... The queen thought “There is no hunter at all, who (can kill) the elephant without instruction.” ...

6 ... Then the queen, having called the old hunters altogether, (asked them), who of(←in) them (are) the bow(-expert) with(←over) five ways(?) ...

THT 0708r (T III Š 68.10; *Saddanta-Jātaka* 7; Uigurica III)

1 + + + + + + + (po)[rr] *oki wāryo paplu n̄sīTAr sne lyiPAR** : • || *TAm KArsoRAs* *şulīñi n̄äktañ weyem n̄ām̄tsuŞ tRAñkiñc*”,

2 (ote *TApren̄ kāruñis tampe*)*wātsune* || *devadattenam* (20/22/10/15) || *tsRAñ PAryo āriñc*”,
*wākṣantāñ yäslunT**, *koŞAntāñ śarwnam*⁵⁰ *PAlkācāñ kārum* (:)

3 + + + + + o *m[a]rmas kaKAltsts oki SA[m]* (*śaru mā*) *[nu] māntaT SAs camam*⁵¹ : *cam*
*kārmets(n)e(yo PAr yo)wās kapśñam*⁵² : *bodhisa-*

4 (*tven̄*)⁵³ + + + + + (tā)○*kiŞ, wsoK PALtSAK*⁵⁴ : • (*TMAŞ**, *nunak*)⁵⁵ *subhādrā*
bodhisatvānac tRA(nKAS, kāsu) weñāŞT, kāşāri*

5 (*wsāL*) + + + + +⁵⁶ *madanabhāratam* (4x12) || *ortuMA(n̄cās kāru)ñikās puK**,

⁵⁰ *śarwnam* is a locative form of *śaru* “hunter”. Judging from *śarwañ* (nom. pl. THT 711v2) *śarwes* (gen. sg. THT 708v5), this should be *śarwāñ-am*, but *metri causa* -ä- is omitted. *wākṣantāñ*, *yäslunt* and *koŞAntāñ* all are obl. related with *śarwāñ-am* showing so-called “group inflection”. The -m of *PAlkācāñ* is the enclitic object of *PAlkāc* (impr. 2. pl. of *vläk* “to see”) relating to *kārum* “compassion” (loan word from Skt. *karuñā*).

雜寶藏經 T04.454a18: 即時獵師。詐被袈裟。挾弓毒箭。“then the hunter wore the *kāşāya*-robe in falsehood holding bow and poisoned arrow.”

⁵¹ 大乘大集地藏十輪經 T13.741c19: 觀此離諸惡 必不害衆生 “It is seen that this one is separated from various evils. Surely he does not injure living creatures.” This passage is mentioned in verse in both versions. This could also show that the Chin. and the Toch. had close connections, but were translated incorrectly as I argued *supra* in fn. 48. A meaning of *m[a]rmas kaKAltsts* could be “free form sin, sinless” from Chin. (see underlined part), but in THT710v2 we can imagine “frightened”.

⁵² 雜寶藏經 T04.454a21–22: 以毒箭射。“he shot (the elephant-king) with poisoned arrow”. 大乘大集地藏十輪經 T13.741.c28: 以毒箭彎弓審射中象王心。“with poisoned arrow he drew the bow and shot surely the elephant-king into his heart”. The Toch. expression is between 雜寶藏經 and 大乘大集地藏十輪經. If the addition increased time to time, a chronological order could be: 雜寶藏經 (472) → Toch. ↔ 地藏十輪 (651).

⁵³ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a18–19: 時象婦善賢。見獵師已。即語象王。“When the elephant’s wife, Subhadrā saw the hunter, immediately spoke to the elephant-king.” The wife of the elephant-king, Subhadrā is depicted in 大乘大集地藏十輪經 T13.741.c13 as 母象 “female elephant”.

⁵⁴ 大乘大集地藏十輪經 T13.741.a11–12: 象王歡喜。即自拔牙 施旃荼羅。“the elephant-king was delightful. Immediately he took off his tusks for himself and offered (them) to *cañdālas*”. The lacuna in Toch. could be “when the elephant-king took off his tusks and offered them”. If it is right, *bodhisa(tven̄)* (obl. sg., cf. Sieg 1952 p. 42, fn. 4) could be *bodhisa(ttu)* (nom. sg. subj. of *tākis*). This Toch. verse *devadatte* (line 2) would be a summery denoting the theme of *dāna-pāramitā* of *bodhisattva-caryā*.

⁵⁵ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a22–23: 善賢語其夫。汝言。袈裟中有善無惡。“Subhadrā spoke to her husband ‘You said that there is a virtue in *kāşāya*-robe, no evil.’”

⁵⁶ Sieg completed this lacuna from Uigurica III p. 57 (cf. Sieg 1952 p. 12, fn. 8) “Ist nicht von unzählig vielen Erhabenen das Mönchsgewand als das Beste gepriesen worden?”. This Uig. sentence is interrogative because of the question particle *mu* (cf. Gabain 1974 p. 156, § 356). In Toch. we can find also the question particle *te* (cf. TEB I p. 168, § 281) in next line 6, so the translation of Uig., which Sieg quotes above, should correspond to Toch. *te*-sentence in the last of line 6. The number 6 of missing *akşaras* is too small for Sieg’s translation. It could be so, as in the Chin. 大乘大集地藏十輪經 T13.742.a1 被此法衣人 宜應定歸佛 “A man (who) wears this *dharma*-robe should go back to the Buddha in all cases”; 藥事 T24.71.b6–7: 母象告曰。如何乃言著袈裟

krañcässé : sānā + +⁵⁷ (kā)śāri⁵⁸ wsāl kāswac pā-

6 (plu : + + + + + + + mā) praski naŚ. : ⁵⁹wPAss atS (MAntne aRAs ma)ñKAt mā
twāslune : • || PAl(k)ā(r nu mana)rK(.) naś te kāśāri wsā-

<translation>

- 1 ... ⁶⁰(it is) destroyed completely(←without remainder) like a fire (which is) gone out by water. : • || Having heard so(←it), mountain gods were frightened (and) say ...
- 2 ... (O! my mighty) one (of compassion)! || in the meter of Devadatte || You must see his compassion in the hunter, the enemy, who breaks (his) heart with sharp arrow ...
- 3 ... the (hunter looked) like that (he) threatened veins (=sinless?), but this (scil. hunter) was not malice toward(←in) him (scil. elephant). : (With) the trust(←truth) the arrow hit(←entered) (him) in the body. : Bodhisattva ...
- 4 ... the spirit might be joyful. : • (Then again) Subhādrā says to the Bodhisattva “(Good!) You said (that) the *kāśāya*
- 5 (robe ...) || in the meter of Madanabhārata (4x12) || For all friendly and compassionate good people, : the eternal(?) *kāśāya*-robe is praised as the best (←to the goodness).
- 6 ... there is no fear, : like the moon does not call also certainly(?) a heat(←igniter). : • || See (now, my noble one!) From *kāśāya*-robe (did it rise)

THT 0708v

1 (LAS*、ñātse mā kāKAtku bodhi)sattu tRAñKAŚ*⁶¹ mar ñi PA(ltSAK*、āri)ñc` wtākot

人。無有害心。“The female elephant said: It cannot be helped, you said that a man with *kāśāya*-robe lacks a harmful heart”.

⁵⁷ According to Sieg this is Skt. *sanātana* “eternally”. ā in first syllable is difficult to explain (cf. fn. 27 *supra āmāśās*). If ā reflects Skt. ā, as in Toch. *kāśāri* ← Skt. *kāśāya*, it is comprehensive. A phonologic /ā/ is for the written ā and a in B-Toch., but in A-Toch. we can see a phonologic difference between /ā/ and /a/. One possibility is “ā-Umlaut” whose ā in the first syllable is effected by ā in the second syllable (cf. Tamai 2011, Einleitung XVI). A syntactic relation, whether it is an adj. to *kāśāri wsāl* or an adv. to *pāplu*, is not decided, and Sieg’s “von altersher” for Skt. *sanātana* also is not correct.

⁵⁸ -i of *kāśāri* is problematic. Skt. word is *kāśāya* “brownish-red (cloth)”, and Skt. y could be Toch. r. From B-Toch. *kaśār* and THT 864 r6 *kāśārṣiNAm* (A-Toch. adj. obl. sg. m.) -i could be a marker of gen., but the word *kāśāri* appears always with *wsāl* “cloth”, so it is possible that -i is a developed sound from the connecting vowel -ā- because of palatal /y/ in Skt., or *kāśār* was not understood well in A-Toch., whether it is adj. or subs., when this word was imported from B-Toch. (*kaśār wāstsi* in B-Toch.). If Uig. *karaza* was taken from Toch. *kāśāri* (metathesis of /r/ and /s/), the Toch. ā and ā (schwa) could be Uig. a, because there was no ā in Uig. Therefore I suppose that -i of *kāśāri* is -ā (Toch. schwa), because there was i in Uig.

⁵⁹ 薬事 T24.71.b3–4: 心住慈悲。當須無怖。勿生疑惑。如月無熱。“in the mind the mercy remains, there should be no need to fear: do not make suspicion! Like moon there is no heat.” The Chin. is composed with four characters in one set, and corresponds with the Toch. word-to-word, so *wPAss atS* could mean “certainly”. It is possible that *wPAss atS* was a scribal error for *ṣakk atS*.

⁶⁰ Here we see a prologue (until r4) in a style of conversation between gods from/in heaven, which states a forthcoming affair (like an ode in ancient Greek theater). The name of the meter also implies the content of forthcoming story. This style is found in other Toch., e.g. in Aranemi-Jātaka (cf. THT 77). Sieg mentions that THT 1036 and 721 are “Vorgeschichte” (cf. fn. 1 *supra*), but I suppose that they are prologues. A similar situation is seen in THT 0700r (T III Š 80.4; *Saddanta-Jātaka* 9) below.

⁶¹ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a23: 答言。非袈裟過。“(The elephant-king) answered: *kāśāya*-robe has no fault.”; 薬事 T24.71b7–9: 爾時象王以頌答曰 心非生過患 亦非衣所作 “then the elephant-king replied with verse: The

malywāT, k_uyalte mā (ontam̄ nī kā)ṣāri wsāLAṣ̄ nātse kā-
 2 (KA_{tku}) + + + + + + + nī PAlkār cāmplumiṇ̄ puK, oMA(skenā)s wramnāss̄i eñKA_l
 māntlune ā[kn](tsune śru)m nāntsūS̄⁶² ṣakk atsek cami
 3 + + (mā cami āri)○ñcaNAk cam̄ nī śñi wra(maṇ̄ eñkal mā)ntlune ākntsune pat naS̄⁶³
 TA_m[y]o (śkam̄ sne maṇK*) SAM tri kleśāss̄i a-
 4 (KAlyme tālo ārkiśoṣi) ○ SAS, || nandavilāpam || (tri kleśā)syo raRA_{tku} añcāl śkam̄
 masal(yamts_uneyo) yeS̄ SAM*, wsom PAr nī
 5 (prātskam̄) + + + + + + [ku]s pat nu cam śarwes maṇk, kleśāss̄i aKAlyme tālo :
 kleśāss̄i caM, maṇK, PAlkār marr oñkis ma-
 6 (ñK*, mar wsālis maṇK*⁶⁴ : • || ⁶⁵TMA_S*, su)bhādrā lyutār memaS̄*, māMAntus patsac
 tRAñKAṣ̄⁶⁶ mā cāmplyi nasam toSAM̄ plācānyo tñi wlalune (KLAssi)

<translation>

- 1 (not any) danger? The Bodhisattva says, “Do not press my spirit and heart again, because danger does not (occur to me at all).” ...
- 2 ... to me. Look, my (lady of) ability! For all ugly things, passion, violation (and) ignorance were the cause. Surely his
- 3 (debt is not in his) heart, in my own affair there is passion, violation or ignorance, therefore he (is then without debt). (In the force) of three kleśas
- 4 this (world is miserable). || in the meter of Nandavilāp(a) (4x15) || (It is) happened with three kleśa, and with the work(?) of the bow, the poisoned arrow met(←went to) my (breast).
- 5 ... , or whoever (sees?) the debt of the hunter, in the force of kleśas (it is) miserable. : Look, the debt of kleśas! Not a debt of human,
- 6 (not a debt of cloth. : • || Then Su)bhādrā is suffered very much (and) says to (her) husband, “I am not able (to bear) your death with these remarks(←speeches).”

heart does not make fault, also a robe does not make (it)”.

⁶² 雜寶藏經 T04.454a23–24: 乃是心中煩惱過也。“namely there is a fault of passion in heart.”; 藥事 T24.71b10: 此過由煩惱 由心離慈愍 “this fault (comes) from passion, a mercy is apart from heart”.

⁶³ 大乘大集地藏十輪經 T13.741c26: 汝勿懷疑慮 “you should not have doubt and anxiety”.

⁶⁴ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a24–25: 象王種種慰喻說法。“The elephant-king comforted and persuaded (her) in various (words), and explained the law”. In 藥事 T24.71b20–22 the elephant-king explained his wife with a parable of a medical man in verse.

⁶⁵ Cf. Uigurica III p. 58, T.III,M.56–15 r4 ff., which is too fragmentary to understand a detailed context. In Chin. it is depicted simply as 雜寶藏經 T04.454a25: 不聽令害。“she did not hear (of elephant-king) and (wanted to) make injure (the hunter)” and 藥事 T24.71b15–17: 告其夫曰 (in verse) 我不違君語 如君今所說我欲碎斯人 節節令其斷 “she said to her husband: I do not disobey your speech, as you told (me) now, (but) I want to crush the man – each of his parts (of body) I will cut”.

⁶⁶ 大乘大集地藏十輪經 T13.741c29: 舉聲號啕悲哀哽噎。以頌白言 “she rose her voice, screamed, sorrowed and gave a sob. (And then) with verse she told respectfully”.

THT 0712r (T III Š 98.2; *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka* 8)

1 /// (TA)m *PAlko(RAS)*⁶⁷ [PA]lṣkāt⁶⁸ ma[r] c(eS⁶⁹ tālontā)p *cami*⁷⁰ nātse kleñc⁷¹, *TMAk*, *ylār pācar seyacc oki caM*, o-

2 (nknac⁷², *tRAñKAS**)⁷³ /// (mā) *ontam tñi* [N]SA[s] nāts(e) *naS*, (sñi)keK*, [s]u piś se nī āriñcā kārmem anapRA pesā oram PA-

3 (ṣtam)⁷⁴ /// [o]nKAlmāñ nātse mā kleñc[i] || *TMA*S*, [bo]dhisattu āriñc⁷⁵, wākṣantām koṢAntām pen[u] sñi yäslunT*, tso-

4 (*patSAñ kāruñyo kapśiññam cacpu*)ku⁷⁶ ālykess onKAlmās lok aśśiK*, śla tsoti *PKAnT**, *PKAnT**, *lwoRAS*,⁷⁷ on(KAlmāñ lek) *kalkaR*,⁷⁸ o-

5 (nknac *tRAñKAṣ pkāmār kusne kri tā*)śśi⁷⁹ || *TA*m kaklyuṣuRAṣ śaru bodhisatvem swāRAm̄ rakeyo wsok yāmu⁸⁰ + + + + + osā(T),

6 /// (*ku)sne nāS**, *l[w]em* (*cm*)olā *penu caṣ krañcām wrasomAntā kāswoneyo*⁸¹ + + + + + + +

<translation>

1 ... (Having) seen (it), he thought that they should not bring a danger to him (who is) miserable. Immediately like a (old) weak father to (his) son,

2 (he says to the man), ... There is no danger from me to you at all. Come here to my bosom(←heart), my son! (Stoop down?) in front of feet!

3 ... The elephants do not bring a danger to you. || Then the Bodhisattva hid his enemy (scil.

⁶⁷ The elephant-king saw that “also the group of grave 500 elephants will kill the hunter certainly” (雜寶藏經 T04.454a25–26: 又復畏五百群象必殺此獵師).

⁶⁸ 藥事 T24.71b24–25: 便作是念。勿此母象損害獵師。“moreover he thought that this female elephant should not injure the hunter”.

⁶⁹ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a25: 五百群象。“a group of 500 elephants”.

⁷⁰ Sieg does not translate this *cami* (cf. op. cit. p. 13 “dem Unglücklichen Not bringen”). This gen. should be an apposition with *tālontāp*.

⁷¹ 藥事 T24.71b26–27: 以人言音告獵師曰。汝莫怪畏。“he said to the hunter with the words of mankind: You need not fear”.

⁷² This complement by Sieg is not sure, because *oram* is unknown word. A similar word *oraS* (←*oraM*,?) is found in THT 647v3, and this is also unknown. If these two are the same, we can guess a meaning “safety” or “grace” from the context of both passages. Sieg’s “kauere dich nieder (?)” with *PAṣtam* (impr. 2. sg. of √kāly “to stand”, supposing “stand on knee”?) seems rather strange. From Chin. 雜寶藏經 T04.454a26: 藏著歧間。“he hide (the hunter) between two (feet)” *oram* could relate with 藏 “to hide, to make enter inside”, and √kāly “to stay (on a state)” for 著 which could be a particle for progress or completion.

⁷³ 藥事 T24.71b27–28: 抱在胸前。“he held (the hunter) in front of (his) chest”.

⁷⁴ 藥事 T24.71b28: 令母象別向餘處。“he made the female elephant go to another place”. In 藥事 there is no “five hundred elephants”, but “female elephant”.

⁷⁵ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a26: 五百群象。皆遣遠去。“he sent the entire group of 500 elephants away”.

⁷⁶ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a28–29: 象言。疾取。“he said: Take it off quickly!”. 藥事 T24.71b29: 汝若須我身上物者。任意取之。“if you need something on my body, take it for your own desire.”.

⁷⁷ 雜寶藏經 T04.454a29–b1: 如是慈悲。覆育於我。“like this, (your) mercy envelops (me and) grows in me”. 藥事 T24.71b29: 是時獵師心極怪愕。“in that time the hunter’s mind was frightened very much”.

⁷⁸ 藥事 T24.71c1–3: 此乃是人。我非人也。我是人中象。汝是象中人。汝在傍生。有是情智。我居人類。反無斯慧。“This (scil. elephant-king) is a man, I am not a man, I am an elephant among mankind. You are in beast-birth, you have(, however,) a compassionate wisdom. I stay within mankind, but I have not that wisdom”.

hunter who was) breaking (his) heart (and) killing (him) also in (his body with big
4 compassion). Having sent other elephants just away one by one with (his) signal(?), the
elephants went (away).

5 (He says to man (scil. hunter), “Take(←bring) what(ever) you want(←your wish would
be)! || Having heard it, the hunter became(←made) happy with sweet word of the
Bodhisattva … began …

6 … (which) I (will be? ...) with the virtue of(←over) animal birth, also of the good human
being …

THT 0712v

1 /// (papRAku sne) kaci se k_uyal śe(rtta)R,⁷⁹ • oñK, tRAñKAś nāTAK*, kākoṣtu nasaM*⁸⁰ ||
+ + + + + + +
2 /// (p[ā]ṣlune) ypmām⁸¹ wraṢAL, ślā aśśi kupre subhādrā nī wlalune mā KLAs[mām]⁸² +
+ + + + + [p]em
3 /// (TAm kaklyuRAŚ SA)m śaru āKAryo paprutkunT*, aśāny[o]⁸³ trapmām rakeyo
tRAñKAS*⁸⁴ || (śāc)k(āc)k(eyam) (4x18) || oñKalmāśsi nā-
4 (TAK*⁸⁵ NAś wsoMAnt PAryo klop) [ā]wu⁸⁶ ywārckā pratskam : kāswoneśim PAryo nu
cwā NAŚ, onu klo[pa]su ywārckā[r]iñc[am] : mskatAr kā-
5 (su) /// (kapśi)ññām PAL*⁸⁷ : kā[s]woneyo yā(mu) nu PAL*, ākn̄tsāśsi SATkaTAR*, tri
āpāytwam⁸⁸ : • (yā)sluntañ pe-
6 (nu) + + + + + + + (ka)rum⁸⁹ : kā(s)[w](one)śi sāmu[tRA] (kos tñi) cāmpiñ puk
tRAñktsi kāswoneyntu⁹⁰ : waltsurā nu TAŚ TRAñKAM⁹¹

⁷⁹ 藥事 T24.71c3–4: 菩薩問曰。爲何啼泣。“the Bodhisattva asked: Why do you cry?”

⁸⁰ 藥事 T24.71c4: 獵師答曰。汝已損我。“the hunter replied: You have injured me”.

⁸¹ 藥事 T24.71c4: 我現相救。不會有損。“I realized your rescue. Do I injure you all the time?”

⁸² This part is modified in Chin., 藥事 T24.71c5–6: 不是雌象 而來損耶。“Did the female elephant come to injure (you)?”

⁸³ 藥事 T24.71c3: 悲啼泣淚。“he cried with sorrow and shed tears”.

⁸⁴ The Chin. depicts simply as 藥事 T24.71c6: 獵師答曰。“the hunter replied”.

⁸⁵ 藥事 T24.71c7: 象王。“The elephant-king!”

⁸⁶ āwu (ā- is almost sure to read on the photo) is *hapax legomenon*, which is a p.p. of √o-n “to meet” in active voice, “to begin” in medium (cf. TEB II p. 86), but onu (B-Toch. aunu) is the common form as in the same line here. The difference between āwu and onu could be “transitive” and “intransitive”, if āwu is formed by reduplication, but -w- is impossible to explain. Another possibility is that āwu is original form, if au-n- in B-Toch. is developed from āw-n, whose -n is originally a pres. marker (n-pres.). I prefer to take the latter, and to see a transitive or causative. If this is right, a supplement could be (NAś wsoMAnt PAryo klop) āwu (I put klop “suffering” instead of cu “you” by Sieg) “I caused to meet an suffering with the poisoned arrow”. It is strengthened by the next passage where onu has no object (intransitive), but just an adj. klopasu “unfortunate”. A-Toch. could be an artificial language based on B-Toch. because of au → o, and āwu could be a scribal error.

⁸⁷ 藥事 T24.71c8: 汝身被箭所傷。可有治療。“when your body is hit by an arrow, the wound can be cured”.

⁸⁸ 藥事 T24.71c8–9: 我心被射。愚癡無智。難可療治。“my heart was shot, (but) the stupidity, mindlessness and ignorance are difficult to be cured”.

⁸⁹ 藥事 T24.71c11 (in verse): 起害之人猶發慈 “you give rise to mercy even for a man who injured (others)”.

⁹⁰ 藥事 T24.71c10 (in verse): 功德廣大猶如海 “(your) virtuous deed is vast as the sea”.

<translation>

- 1 ... (he asked,) “My son! (without) reason(←arrangement?) why you cry?” The man replies(←says), “My lord! I am depressed. || ...
- 2 ... (because of my) making protection, did I indeed bring you (←with) suffering? Or(←Whether) (did) Subhadrā, not enduring my death, (cause you to cry)? Tell (me)!
- 3 ... (Having heard it, the) hunter says with eyes of(←with) tear (and) with step backed voice (←knocked word). || in the meter of Śāckācke || My lord of elephants!
- 4 (With poisoned arrow I) injured(←caused to meet) you in the center of (your) breast, : but with a virtuous arrow of(←by) you I became(←met) unhappy in the center of (my) heart. : (It) is good ...
- 5 ... a wound in the body. : A wound of ignorance, however, (which) is made by virtue, spreads in three evil states. : • To(←In) a enemy also ...
- 6 ... (you show?) the compassion. : (You,) the ocean of virtues! (How far?) one would be able to tell all (your) virtues? : In summary, however, I tell

THT 0700r (T III Š 80.4; *Saddanta-Jātaka* 9)

- 1 /// .. *TPAr pramTAR** : • ⁹²*wlāñKAt tRAñKAṣ kalkam nāś camac kātse TAmne ske yāmaM**, *MAtnē SAM wtāk neśim*
- 2 (*SArki*) /// (*tRA*)*ñKAṣ saNAk waSAM ākāl šeS* || *TMAṢ**, *wlāñKAT**, *epreram nañkuRAS**, *bodhisatvāP**, *anapRA*
- 3 /// ○ .ś. *nāTAK**, *ṣokyo nu māski yāMLAṣ wram yāMAṢT*⁹³ *ṣñi kaknu tāk*⁹⁴ *te cam tñi saRAs puskāS*, *śwāL**, *āñka-*
- 4 (*RAs RAswāluneyam klopyo SArki*)○*ñco siñlune*⁹⁵ *bodhisattu tRAñKAṢ*, *mā ontam tāka nī kalyalte nareśiNAssé klo[p]anT**, *opyāc Kallā-*

⁹¹ 薬事 T24.71c12 (in verse): 假說我今身是人 “supposing to explain, I myself am a man”.

⁹² Conversations of gods are found in Toch. as in India. I suppose that the Toch. could be influenced by Indian literature. Here we can see the conversation between Indra (as a messenger of the heaven) and the Bodhisattva-elephant. In Uigurica III p. 60 T.III,73(2)v8 ff. we can see a similar situation (a conversation between a god and his wife in the air). The content of Uig. could get an influence from Toch.

⁹³ 薬事 T24.72a10 (in verse): 象王行苦行 “the elephant-king practiced an asceticism”.

⁹⁴ This *tāk* could be a scribal error for *tāṣ* (subj. 3. sg. √*nas* “to be”). According to SSS p. 420 this root is described as “ohne parallelen auch der Wechsel von *tāk* und *tā*, das auf den Konjunktiv beschlenkt bleibt”. The proofs are here, THT 762v1 and 1017r3, and all instances are 3. sg. Then I see a subj. stem as *tāk-* only, and 3. sg. should be **tākṣ*, whose *-k-* disappeared on phonetic grounds. Very rarely *-s* is dropped off, when 3. sg. is obvious from context, or *-k-* is important phoneme for subj. Here I see a simplifying of *tākṣ te* to *tāk te* in ligature *kṣte* → *kte* (the subj. *tāk* and the asking particle *te*).

⁹⁵ 薬事 T24.72a11 (in verse): 當正拔牙時 受於無量苦 “just when you took off your tusk you felt immeasurable suffring”. According to Sieg, *siñlune* means “Befriedigung” (cf. Sieg 1952 p. 14; 1 *si-*, *si-n-* in TEB II p. 155), but from the context and Chin. 苦 “suffering” it is better to see “bedrückt sein” (cf. 2 *si-*, *si-n-* in TEB II p. 155. Apropos “skt. vi-ṣad” in commentary of TEB should be vi-√*sad*-).

5 (*mām*)⁹⁶ /// ākāL*, ālu kāsu yāmluneyāS*, PKAt⁹⁷ nu puttiśpaRAṁ mā naS⁹⁸ MAt nu
NAŚ*, ṣñi klopyo siñäl ṣeM*, || wlā-
6 (ñKAt tRAñKAŚ*) /// .. w[r]am TAmyo ṣom cam perāk yāMLAṁ wram waSAM lākātsi
āyiT*, || onkaLAṁ tRAñKAŚ*, PAkār ñāktaśsi wāL*,

<translation>

- 1 ... we carry highly. : • Indra says, “I will go near to him (and) make effort so, that again he like former state
- 2 (gets tusks.”?). (The god) says, “This even was our desire. || Then Indra, having disappeared in the air space, (appeared) in front of the Bodhisattva,
- 3 (he says), “My lord! However, you have done the thing (which was) very difficult to do. Would be there (any) oppressing to you (with the suffering at last), when your veins, tendons, flesh and tusks
- 4 are pulled out (←in the pull of)? The Bodhisattva says, “To me (it) was not (so) at all, because, remembering the sufferings of hells,
- 5 ... desire. Without doing welfare for other (people), there is, however, no Buddha-worth. How could I be oppressed with my own suffering? Indra
- 6 (says) ... (this) thing (is unbelievable??). Thereupon you might let(←give) us see the only one convincing(←believing to be done) thing. || The elephant says, “Look, my king of gods!”

THT 0700v

1 /// (||kuprene) k(ār)m(e) rakeyo saRAs puskāS, ānkaRAS, rsunāmāṁ ñi⁹⁹ : ñareśiṁśśi
kloPAS*, PKAnT*, klopyo¹⁰⁰ PALtSAK*,
2 (āriñc, ñi mā siṁsāwe¹⁰¹ caNAk kā)[r]m(e)tsuneyo kupre pat ṣakk atS KAlpāl tāM,
puttiśpaRAṁ : ḪAkk āñkari¹⁰² puk salu ṣitsrāk¹⁰³ pāKAr tāki ñi neśiṁ SA-

⁹⁶ 藥事 T24.72a15 (in verse): 猶如地獄受苦人 “even like a man who gets the suffering of hell”

⁹⁷ This word should be /pkānt/, whose -n- is dropped because of simplification of nt-nu in ligature to tnu. See PKAnT*, in the line 1 on the reverse of this folio.

⁹⁸ 藥事 T24.72a15 (in verse): 必不能發慈悲意 “surely he cannot create a mind of mercy”.

⁹⁹ Uigurica III p. 60, T.III,73(2) v4–5: alqu tişlai ning singir läi ... •• üzülip käsilip bir ażiyyi tük[ätij] “So wurden aller Stoßzähne Nerven durchrisen und getrennt und ein Zahn ging mit den Wurzeln heraus.”

藥事 T24.72a19: 而以六牙欲捨與之。“and (the elephant-king) wanted to give him with six tusks”.

¹⁰⁰ 藥事 T24.72a20: 我今極痛。“I (feel) now a terrible pain”.

¹⁰¹ Uigurica III p. 61 T.III,S.89,1 v1–8: sansardaqı nizvanılıy qap qarangxuda ... [yo]lči yirči bolur ärsär mn •• ... [aži]yümün tartar ärkän käyikči ärkä bir kšan ödtä ymä övkä kongülüüm yokärü bolmayuq ärsär bu köni kirtü üzä altı ažiylarım öngräki täg ... liig bolzun •• “Wenn [es wahr ist, daß] ich in der tiefen Finsternis der Leidenschaften im Samṣāra ein Wegekundiger und Führer bin, wenn ich (ferner) gegen den Jäger, der meine Zähne ausriß, auch nicht einen Augenblick lang Zorn in mir aufsteigen ließ, so mögen auf Grund dieser wirklichen Wahrheit meine sechs Stoßzähne wie zuvor ... [voll kommen wieder] da sein!”

¹⁰² Sieg might think ḪAkk āñkari as “six tusks”, but “six-colored tusks” is also possible, as the mural in Qizil shows. In Uig. there is also “six”, e.g. Uigurica III pp. 55–56 T.III, M.84–25 r5–6 altı ažiyların öngi öngi tartip öntürgil “Take off six tusks one by one!”. If the Uig. version showed the number of tusks as “six” (cf. Uigurica

3 (rki *TAprem* wewñu)○*RAS**, *tmak cami treyo mañis krorr*¹⁰⁴ *oki ŠAK**, *ānkari šitsrāk pāKAr tākaRAm* || *TAm PAlkoRAS**, *tkanā e-*
 4 (preram näktas napeNAṣṣi tso)pats kācke kāTAK*, || *TMAS**, *wlāñKAT**, *ṣakk atseK**,
ptāñKAt kātkaLAm cam krañcām wrasoMANt, KArsoRAS**,
 5 /// (bodhisatvā)nac *tRAñKAṣ kāsu kāsu kāswoneyuM**, *taryāk-we-pi lakṣanāsyo yetunT**,
*wāmpunT**, *puttiśpa-*
 6 (ram ṣakk atseK*, *KAlpāLAm cu*) *lkām KAlpo puttiśpaRAm*¹⁰⁵ *NAṣ penu opyāc*“, *klitār TApren wewñuRAS**, *wlāñKAT**, *tmāk naKAT**, ||

<translation>

- 1 (... (4x18) ||) Honestly (←with the true speech), when my veins, tendons and tusks are pulled out (←pulling), : with the suffering which (even) exceeds(←apart from) the suffering of hells, (my) spirit
- 2 (and heart I did not oppress), or if(←whether) I should get surely the Buddha-worth with (this truth), : my six(-colored?) tusks might appear so absolutely, as it were in former time.
- 3 Having said so, immediately to him the six(-colored?) tusks like a sickle of (the crescent) moon (which is) three days (after a new moon) appeared absolutely. || Having seen it, on the earth (and)
- 4 (in the air space, a great) pleasure rose (for human beings and gods). || Then Indra, having known the good being (who) would surely become(←rise as) the Buddha,
- 5 ... (he) says to the Bodhisattva, “Very good! (You, who are) decorated with virtuous 32 features, (who will get surely) the Buddha-worth,
- 6 I see (such a being, namely you). (When you) get the Buddha-worth, you might remember also me!” Having said so, then Indra disappeared. ||

THT 0710r (TIIIŠ101.2; *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka* 10; Uigurica II p. 20 ff.)1 /// || *TMAS SAM* *śaru MA[t]n(e)* *wärtac* (*KAlk MATne*) *tm(ā) oñkaLA**M*, *oS MATne TMAK**,

III p. 60 T.III,73(2)v11 [käz]igčä “[wollte der Jäger die Zähne] der Reihe nach [ausbrechen]), and the Toch. as “two”, there could be a confusion “six” or “six-colored” for the literal word “six”.

¹⁰³ This *ṣitsrāk* occurs only here and in the next line 3, and Sieg translates this word as “der Reiche nach”, but “ganz” in TEB II p. 149. Here I suppose that *salu* und *ṣitsrāk* are synonyms (binomial expression meaning “completely”), and *puk* “all” is used as an emphasis or *metri causa*, as we can infer from the passage of the next line 3 on this folio (without *puk* *salu*).

¹⁰⁴ Sieg translated this passage as “die dreifache Sichel des Mondes”, which is not comprehensive. The problem is *treyo* (*hapax legomenon*). This is an instr. form of *tre* “three” as in Poucha p. 135, relating to *mañ* “moon”, not to *kror* “sickle” as by Sieg. He might think three tusks, but why only one side? The meaning of *treyo mañ* is “moon with three (days) → crescent (moon)”. The moon grows from the new moon after three days to the shape of a sickle (2.5–3.5 age of the moon). In Japan it is called as 三日月 “three-days-moon”.

¹⁰⁵ 藥事 T24.72b2: 當救輪迴得解脱 “he just make rescue (from) *samsāra* and get a deliverance”.

oñ[kaLA]m cami šolā pā-

2 (ṣluneyac[◦]) /// āṅkaRAS, tskā[t]¹⁰⁶ MAnT*, paT TAM [ṣ](urma)[S.] tkanis mewlune
ñäkcyāS, pyāppyāssé s[w]āslune ñäkta-

3 (s napeNAssé) /// (bodhi)○satvām [p]āllune tāK,¹⁰⁷ MA(nT)*, pat nu wlāñKAT*,
bodhisatvānac kanwenā lyāM, • [TA]m¹⁰⁸ [p]enu t[e]mi lāntse

4 /// ○ TMAṣ ceSAM, āṅkaRAs lāntse [su]knāmām tRA[ñKA]ṣ ceSAS, škam āṅkaRAS, tñi
essi [wo](tka ñi) || [ā](kru)n[T]*(.) swā-

5 (SAsmām) /// (SA)m kāruṇik wrasom^{*}, || śaru tRAñKAṣ t. .n. + [c]w. ||
(s)ubhādrenām (20/22/10/15) || mā kā(su) + + + + + +

6 + + + + + + + (:) (k)ossi lywāṣT*, onmīm pyāmtsāR*, ptarK, rse PALtSKAṣ puK*,
cmolwām mar ś(k)am r.e + + + + (:) + + + +

<translation>

1 ... || Then the hunter (reported), how he (went) to the forest, (how) he met the elephant
there, how the elephant ... thereupon (to retain) his life (←over his life)

2 ... (how he) took off the tusks, or how (it) was, because of that, the trembling of the earth,
the rain of divine flowers, ... of gods (and)

3 (human beings) ... the praise of the Bodhisattva, or also how Indra sat on (his) both knees
for(←toward) the Bodhisattva. Also (he reported?) so for the queen

4 ... Then (he,) offering(←bringing) these tusks for the queen, says, “And (he ordered to me)
to give these tusks to you. || Tears poured down (←raining of tears)

5 ... the pitiful man(←being). || The hunter says ... || in the meter of Subhādre (20/22/10/15)
|| Not good ...

6 ... (:) You sent to kill (him?). Repent(←Make regret)! Dismiss hate from the thought in all
births! And not ...

¹⁰⁶ The subject of this sentence could be the elephant-king, because “the trembling of the earth, the rain of divine flowers” happened, as in Chin. 雜寶藏經 T04.454b2: 自拔牙出。“(the elephant-king) took off the tusks by himself”. This is the third stage of offering the tusks after Sugimoto p. 10., which shows the developed or late stage of Toch. Buddhism.

¹⁰⁷ tāK, should be tāka (pret.), as other predicate verbs in pret. form (description of the fact). There is no virāma line (in the gap?) and virāma-comma over K, which is written even on the “Fremdzeichen” in the case of virāma in this manuscript. On the photo it is not distinguishable whether it is KA, ka or another, so Sieg reads it as tāK. There are some examples of tāk as pret. 3. sg. (cf. TEB II p. 110 and Poucha p. 143), and tāka- as pret. stem is written, when personal endings or enclitic pronouns follow, e.g. tāka-ñi (THT863 r3) or tākar (passim). From B-Toch. subj./pret. stem /tākā-/ of √nes “to be”, I assume that the pret. stem in A-Toch. is also /tākā-/ (the written form is tāka), and it developed to tāk because of the accent regular (cf. Tamai, Einleitung p. XV “Akzent”), i.e. tākā → tāka → *tākā → tāk. I see a late stage in A-Toch., because tāk is found only in A-Toch. Another possibility is that tāk is written metri causa, because we can find tāk used as pret. in verses more often (two examples in proses against four in verses, which are in TEB II p. 110).

¹⁰⁸ SAm (cf. Sieg/Siegling 1921 p. 45 No. 77 a3, • [ṣ]am penu) is not suitable, because it is used as SAm śaru “the hunter” in line 1 of the same side. On the photo I would like to read this part as TAM “it, so”, because the left upper side of the aksara is rather rectangular or sharp (SA is rather rounded form). If this is so, the context is also more understandable.

THT 0710v

1 + + + + + (:) .. *āñkaRAS*, *lywāci ceSAm purpār klyomim* *pyām kṣānti* : • || *TAm kaklyuṣuRA(S*)* + + + + + + +

2 /// (*puk marmas*) *kaKAltsām̄ triK* *tkanā (klā)* || *[TMAK]**, (*brahma*)[*dati*]e *wäl (ś)i[t]ābhās* *ñemintu* + + + + + + + + + *i*

3 /// (*bhā*)*○drā lātS*, *neśināS*, *cmo[l]u opyāc [k]los hima[va]nT**, *şulyim* *KAlymeyac*~, *s[p]ā* + (*o*)*[ñKA]lmem*

4 /// (*śñi a*)*○ñcām nāKasmām̄ tRAñKAS*¹⁰⁹ || + st. n. .. *sam* (4x18) || *hiśT**, *sne* *śakce* *KArpi* *ñuK**, *yäslyi r[o]ñcām RASKAr* *yo a-*

5 + + + (:) + + + + + + + (*kās*)[*w*](*o*)*ne mā* *PAlkoRAs* *kossi* *wotkām* (: *kā*)*runikām* *PALtSAkyo knānmuneyo* *āṣṭRAṁnyo* *r(i)şakk* *oki* : *a-*

6 + + + + + + + + + + + + + *sām̄* *wartsi tuñk[y]o* : *caMAS* *wä(tkoś tāPArK*)* *ceM**, *ānās* *nām̄tsuṣ* *wekantRA tāśsi* *[KA]lkeñc*~, : *aryu* [*p*]a

<translation>

- 1 ... I sent you the tusks. Take these, my noble (lady)! Forgive (me) (←Make forgiveness)! :
 - || Having heard it ...
- 2 ... she threatened (all her veins) (= frightened?), confused, (and) fell down on the earth. || Immediately the king (Brahmadatta brought) the *Śitābhāsa* (“coolness-emitter”) jewels (for her?)...
- 3 ... The queen Bhadrā (who) remembered (her) former births, ... to the direction of Mount Himaraya ... of the elephant
- 4 ... (she), blaming herself, says || in the meter of ... (4x18) || Alas! I (have) a weak-minded (←common) envy without ability(?), jealousy (and) bitter ...
- 5 ... Without(←Having not seen) virtue, I ordered to kill (him :) like a sage with compassionate thought, cleverness (and) cleanliness : ...
- 6 ... the follower with love. : They were separated (in that time) from him, became miserable, (and) depressed(← fell apart). Where will they go really? : Long ...

THT 0713r (TIIIŠ98.3; *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka* 11)

¹⁰⁹ 雜寶藏經 T04.454b5: 便生悔心。而作是言。“namely she produced a regrettable mindset, and then she said”

śr(e)ṣṭhiS_ āmāśā-

5 (s) /// plāksāt waSTAŚ LAc¹¹⁰, aśi tāK* sām nu tatmur(ā)ṣṣ aci ptāñKA

6 /// (ptāñKA)ṣyāP*, anapRA kumnässi mā cāmṣā • || ālyākyām praṣṭam te(mi)

<translation>

1 ... also going from birth to birth, she(?) ...

2 ... in every directions, beautiful (shape) to see ...

3 ... however, through the adoration(←love) to(←in) Buddha-god, (reminding bad) deeds ...

4 ... her desire was to go away (from house). Then Bhadrā (asked?) rich guild-leaders (and) ministers ...

5 ... (she) asked an agreement, she went out from house and became(←was) nun. However, she (wanted to see?) the Buddha from her birth ...

6 ... she could not come in front of the teacher (Buddha). • || In another time (for her) ...

THT 0713v

1 /// kl(e)śās wawiK*, ārāntiśpaRAm KAlpāT* • TMAŚ*, ārānT*

2 (nāmtsus) /// (ptāñka)T KAṣṣim lkātsi yeṢ*, PAlkātt atS, ptāñKAT KAṣ(s)iṁ (ne)[ṣ] cmolwāṣi-

3 (nās yāmluneyntu opyāc kallāmām) /// (ptāñKAT KAṣ)y(ā)p pesam kākloRAŚ tRAñKAS*, || kokāliknaṁ || [mā] kāsu

4 /// MAtne āknatS, MAtne trikṣanT*, MAt(n)e p. + MAnT,

5 /// (mañK, ruTAñkāmāR,) triślune deśiT*, ypamār pyā(m kṣānti) + + + + + +

6 /// yāmp(←w)ā tāPArK, penu [kṣā] + + + + + +

<translation>

1 ... (she) drove out (←made disappear) kleśas (and) got the *Arhat*-worth. • Then (she became) *Arhat* ...

2 ... (she) went to see the teacher, the Buddha, (and) she really saw the teacher, the Buddha, (recalling her deeds) in(←of) former lives.

3 ... Having fallen to(←in) the feet of (the teacher Buddha), she says. || in the meter of Kokālika (20/22/10/15) || Not good ...

4 ... how ignorance, how confusing, how ..., how ...

5 ... I remove (my) debt (and) confusion, I make a confession, forgive (me)!

6 ... I made ... now also (forgive me!)

¹¹⁰ 雜寶藏經 T04.454b7: 出家學道。“she went out from her house to learn the way (of life)”.

II. The development of the *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka*

The *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka* was a popular tale that originated in India and spread to Gāndhāra, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, Tibet and China, showing various diachronic (from 2 B.C onward) and synchronic developments. I quote the study of Sugimoto (2006, originally written in Japanese) briefly in order to provide an overview of the *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka* for the sake of understanding a development of Buddhist literatures.

1. Introduction

Jātaka originally means “birth in a previous incarnation”, indicating a general tale of a former life, and was not limited to stories about the Buddha. It implied no ideology pertaining to bodhisattvas or karmic reward, but it did suggest reasons for the present state of affairs (as a form of admonition). It became “a tale of the Buddha’s former life” or “a tale of the Bodhisattva’s religious practice” by means of changing the main character to the Buddha, or selecting tales whose main character was the Buddha, e.g. *Jātaka-mālā*. This was recognized through the usage of the name of the Buddha and Bodhisattva in a previous life, and the *Pāramitā*-ideology became fused, which came from other areas.

The formation was changed from three parts, *paccuppannavatthu* (prologue), *atītavatthu* (past affair) and *samodhāna* (identification of persons in present and past time) to two (without the present state), and at last only one (past affair), which was used for praising the Bodhisattva and became a main theme of *Jātaka* as a genre. Later, especially in the (*Mūla)sarvastivāda, the new genre *Avadāna*, which emphasized the karmic reward, was established, and there was confusion between this and *Jātaka*, and *Jātaka* became mixed with *Avadāna*. The *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka* is an example of this.*

It is said that *Jātaka* originally consisted of *gāthā* (verse), but it was difficult to understand an entire story written in verse, so proses became necessary. Therefore, many *Jātakas* were composed in both verse and prose. When the verses and proses are not coincident, it is said that the verses are older, but this is not always the case. Occasionally verses were produced under the influence of proses. The verses of *samodhāna* (union) in the *Chaddanta-Jātaka* in Pāli were produced in such a manner. This is the opinion of Sugimoto (cf. p. 2), but *communis opinio* verses show the originals.

We see the *Jātakatthavaṇṇā* (annotation in Pāli) as falling under the *Jātaka* genre. Prose is thought of as a kind of annotation, but the style of *Jātaka* is abnormal in relation to the *Suttanipāta* or *Dhammapada*, i.e. there is no annotation for verses, and no relation of fates with verses. The verses and proses are reciprocal and complement each other. The annotations for verses are kept in the name of *Veyyākaraṇa*. This *Jātakatthavaṇṇā* was to be

compiled in the middle of 5th century CE involving old proses from a era BCE period, and various changes and adaptations occurred before its final formation. It is said that the content of *Jātaka* has a Hinayāna character, but it also has that of Mahāyāna, as is seen in *Śaddanta-Jātaka* (cf. Sugimoto pp. 2–3).

2. Philological materials for the *Śaddanta-Jātaka*

This *Jātaka* was originally a nun's tale of previous incarnation, and the Bodhisattva played a supporting role, but the story was changed, i.e. the previous incarnation of the Bodhisattva became the main concern. We can see many varieties and citations in numerous materials, but just nine sources are cited as follows in order to observe its development.

2.1. Pāli Jātaka No.514 (Fausbøll, Vol. V, pp. 36–57; 2nd B.C. – 5th CE)

I will use the translation of Francis (1905) together with Sugimoto's digest. Three parts (*paccuppannavatthu*, *atītavatthu* and *samodhāna*) are kept.

paccuppannavatthu: One nun is crying and laughing like madwoman before the Buddha, but he is smiling. The monks ask about the situation, and the Buddha explains the reason with a story regarding the past.

atītavatthu: Once there was an elephant-king with 8000 elephants and two wives in the foot of Himaraya, who had a big body and big tusks emitting six-colored rays. When he struck a *Sāl* tree, flowers fell on the first wife (*Mahāsubhadra*), while dry twigs with dead leaves fell on the second wife (*Cullasubhaddā*). The king received a large lotus with seven shoots from a certain elephant and gave it to the first wife. The second one had a grudge against the king's deed and prayed to the *Paccakabuddha* (*Khadgaviṣāṇakalpa*): “Hereafter, when I pass hence, may I be reborn as the royal maiden *Subhaddā* in the *Madda* king's family, and on coming of age may I attain to the dignity of queen consort to the king of Benares. Then I shall be dear and charming in his eyes, and in a position to do what I please. So I will speak to the king and send a hunter with a poisoned arrow to wound and slay this elephant. And thus may I be able to have brought to me a pair of his tusks that emit six-colored rays.” Thenceforth she took no food and died. [in prose]

Her desire was realized, and she gained the favor of the king. She pretended to be sick in bed, and said to the king that she would get the tusks of the elephant-king [conversation in verses] The king agreed, and gave orders to his ministers to gather all the hunters in the kingdom of Kāsi (→ *svayamvara*-story in Toch.). 60000 hunters got together, and the queen said to them: (in verse No.6 from line 20, p. 41 in Fousbøll; translation by Francis) “Ye hunters bold, assembled here! Unto my words, I prey, give ear: Dreaming,

methought an elephant I saw, Six-tusked¹¹¹ and white without a flaw: His tusks I crave and fain would have; Nought else avails this life to save¹¹². Sonuttara by name was selected as a hunter, and took a very long and tough way to the elephant-king. There the hunter donned yellow robes (*kāśāya*), and hid in a pit taking his bow and a poisoned arrow. He shot the elephant-king, and the elephant-king became mad with pain, and he had almost slain the hunter but stopped, because he saw the *kāśāya*-robe, and asked the reason why the hunter wounded him. Having heard the hunter's reason, the elephant-king uttered (in verse No.52): "Rise, hunter, and or ere I die. Saw off these tusks of ivory. Go bid the shrew be of good cheer, 'The beast is slain, his tusks are here'". Then the hunter tried to cut off the tusks, but he could not do it, although the elephant-king helped him. Then the elephant-king cut off his tusks by himself and gave them to the hunter, and the hunter went back to Benares swiftly by the magic power of these tusks. After the death of the elephant-king, his body was burned, and the *Pratyekabuddhas* all through the night recited scripture in the cemetery. The queen also died due to the great sorrow she felt from the death of the elephant-king, which she learned upon seeing his tusks.

samodhāna (in verses): The queen was the nun who was laughing and crying, because she was beloved by the elephant-king in a former life, and died due to grief when she saw the tusks. The elephant-king was the Bodhisattva, and the hunter was Devadatta.

The content is complicated and exaggerated, and there are many supplements from a later time. Moreover, the verses in the conclusion were obviously added at a later time (cf. von Hinüber 1997 p. 98¹¹³, p. 112¹¹⁴). The core of the tale is the offering of the tusks of the elephant-king, which is developed in three steps: the first is the hunter's cutting, the second is the elephant-king's bending down for the sake of the hunter's cutting, and the third is the elephant-king's own cutting. In prose, all three are told showing a dramatization at a later time.

2.2. 『雜譬喻經(九)』 (T205.504b02–c23; translated in 220 CE)

The content of *atītavatthu* is almost the same as in the Pāli (and Toch.), but the

¹¹¹ Francis notes the annotation below verse 6 *chabbisāñan ti chabbañnavisāñam* as "The Scholiast explains *chabbisāna* six-tusks as *chabbañna* six-colored, perhaps more completely to identify the hero of the story with the Buddha", but the text says *chabbaññāhi rasmīhi* "emitting six-colored rays" Fausbøll p. 37 line 8, and *yamakadante* "a pair of his tusks" ibid. p. 44 line 15. It is not decisive that "six" is "to identify the hero of the story with the Buddha", or "six-colored-tusks". I will discuss this problem later.

¹¹² Pāli *alābhe n' atthi jīvitan ti* "without getting (the tusks), there is no life". I cannot see whose life shall be lost, whether "my" (of the queen) or "his" (of the hunter). From the Toch. it is the life of the hunters (pl. including seven generations), but in the Pāli it is written in sg. Therefore, I prefer that the queen's life would be the one that is lost, but as the hunter was alone, it seems that the life of the hunter would be the one that is lost.

¹¹³ "Die Konzilsväter werden am Ende von 514. Chaddanta-ja. als Verfasser von Versen angegeben".

¹¹⁴ "Offensichtlich sind hier die letzten sechs Verse, die den Konzilvätern zugeschrieben werden".

order is different, i.e. *atītavatthu* → *paccuppannavatthu* → *samodhāna*, and the content of *paccuppannavatthu* and *samodhāna* is slightly modified. This could mean that *atītavatthu* became a main theme, and the modification shows development in China.

2.3. 『六度集經 (28)』 (T152.17a19–b29; translated in 251–280 CE)

There is no *paccuppannavatthu*. This *sūtra* shows 菩薩自戒波羅蜜行 (austerities of *pāramitā* and the Bodhisattva's admonition). The number of the tusks is two (cf. T0152_03.0017b12 射之。截取其牙。將二牙來。), and “six tusks” in T0152_03.0017a29–b01 吾夢覩六牙象 could be “six-colored tusks”.

2.4. 『大莊嚴論經』卷 14 (T201.336b12–338a13; translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 in 384–401 CE)

The content is similar to the Toch. version (because of the translation of Kumārajīva who was a Tocharian?). There is neither the *paccuppannavatthu* nor the *samodhāna*, but only the admiration-tale for the austerities of the Bodhisattva composed mainly in verse, which is also similar to the Toch.

2.5. 『大智度論』卷 12, 39, 93 (T25.146b27–c5, 343a24–26, 714c25–715a3); translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 in 405 CE)

Saddanta is used in this *śāstra* as a parable in a very short abbreviated tale for the sake of explaining the *dānapāramitā* of Bodhisattva in a state of *dharma-kāya*, i.e. the *Saddanta-Jātaka* had already become famous by this point.

2.6. 『摩訶僧祇律』卷 2 (T22.240b24–241a20; translated in 416–418 CE)

This is composed in three parts (present, past and conclusion), and features the story of the monk Dhaniya's former life. The elephant-king is the king Bimbisāra instead of the Bodhisattva, and the hunter is the monk Dhaniya in the present. The theme is reverence for the *kāṣāya*-robe, which can be found in other literature, e.g. the *Kāsāva-Jātaka* in Pāli.

2.7. 『雜宝藏經 (10) 六牙白象緣』卷 2 (T04.453c24–454b11; translated in 472 CE)

The three parts are complete, but the content of the *paccuppannavatthu* is different from the Pāli version.

paccuppannavatthu: The daughter of a rich person, Bhadrā became a nun admiring the *kāṣāya*-rob and attained an *Arahat*-stage without going before the Buddha. Thereafter she regretted this, and went to the Buddha to confess, but the Buddha said that he had already heard her confession. Monks asked the Buddha about predestination.

The names of the characters and places including the content of *atītavatthu* are identical or similar with the Toch. version, although the Toch. contains much more content than the Chin. I do not know whether the Toch. added them or the Chin. omitted them. I quote the Chin. 雜宝藏經 with underlines that show the correspondences with the Toch. in order to show the similarity of the content.

昔舍衛國。有一大長者。生一女子。自識宿命。初生能語。而作是言。不善所作。不孝所作。無慚所作。惡害所作。背恩所作。作此語已。默然而止。此女生時。有大福德。即爲立字。名之爲賢。漸漸長大。極敬袈裟。以恭敬袈裟因緣。出家作比丘尼。不到佛邊。精勤修習。即得羅漢。悔不至佛邊。便往佛所。向佛懺悔。佛言。我於彼時。已受懺悔。諸比丘。疑怪問佛。此賢比丘尼。何以故從出家以來不見佛。今日得見佛懺悔。有何因緣。佛即爲說因緣。昔日有六牙白象。多諸群衆。此白象有二婦。一名賢。二名善賢。林中遊行。偶值蓮花。意欲與賢。善賢奪去。賢見奪華。生嫉妬心。彼象愛於善賢而不愛我。時彼山中有佛塔。賢常採花供養。即發願言。我生人中。自識宿命。并拔此白象牙取。即上山頭。自撲而死。尋生毘提醯王家作女。自知宿命。年既長大。與梵摩達王爲婦。念其宿怨。語梵摩達言。與我象牙作床者我能活耳。若不爾者。我不能活。梵摩達王。即募獵者。若有能得象牙來者。當與百兩金。即時獵師。詐被袈裟。挾弓毒箭。往至象所。時象婦善賢。見獵師已。即語象王。彼有人來。象王問言。著何衣服。答言。身著袈裟。象王言。袈裟中必當有善無有惡也。獵師於是遂便得近。以毒箭射。善賢語其夫。汝言。袈裟中有善無惡。云何如此。答言。非袈裟過。乃是心中煩惱過也。善賢即欲害彼獵師。象王種種慰喻說法。不聽令害。又復畏五百群象必殺此獵師。藏著歧間。五百群象。皆遣遠去。問獵師言。汝須何物。而射於我。答言。我無所須。梵摩達王。募索汝牙。故來欲取。象言疾取。答言。不敢自取。如是慈悲。覆育於我。我若自手取。手當爛墮。白象即時。向大樹所。自拔牙出。以鼻絞捉。發願而與。以牙布施。願我將來。拔一切衆生三毒之牙。獵師取牙。便與梵摩達王。爾時夫人。得此牙已。便生悔心。而作是言。我今云何取此賢勝淨戒之牙。大修功德。而發誓言。願使彼將來得成佛時。於彼法中。出家學道。得阿羅漢。汝等當知。爾時白象者。我身是也。爾時獵師者。提婆達多是也。爾時賢者。今比丘尼是也。爾時善賢者。耶輸陀羅比丘尼是也。

2.8. 『大乘大集地藏十輪經』卷 4 (T13.741c–742a; translated in 651 CE)

There is neither the *paccuppannavatthu* nor the *samodhāna*. Mainly, the content is similar to the Toch. version, i.e. the story of the Bodhisattva, including the style of the verses for conversation, although the names of the characters are different (e.g. female-elephant for Subhadrā). This *sūtra* could be partly translated from the Toch. version or *vice versa*, because of correspondences among certain words.

2.9. 『根本有部律藏事』卷 15 (T24.71a–72b; translated in 695–712 CE)

There is no *paccuppannavatthu*, and the *samodhāna* is very short. The content is similar to the Toch. Indeed, it is identical in parts, e.g. the names of characters, or the metaphor of the moon for the sinless man with the *kāṣāya*-robe. H. Yao (2003, p. 403–408) translates this story from Tibetan (Derge Xylograph, Kha245b–248b) comparing it with the Chin. (T24.71a–72a; translated into Japanese). I see some development and alteration, e.g. an addition of a verse (Kha246a), which contains a metaphor for the color “white”, and the shape of the tusk of the elephant (“various roots of the elephant resemble to the moon” ← sickle-shape of the tusk, or “six tusks are elegant like the moon” ← six-colored tusk). The theme is the *tapas* (asceticism) and *dāna* (offering) involved in the *bodhisatvacaryā*. It shows partial agreement with the Toch., presumably because it stems from the same sect of Buddhism, i.e. the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*.

3. Investigation for murals and engravings

I have tried to discern characteristics of Tocharian Buddhism by investigating the development of the *Saddanta-Jātaka* from evidence found in murals and engravings in various places (21 cases in 12 districts, cf. Sugimoto 2006 p. 13). As I am not a specialist in the history of art, I follow Sugimoto’s 2006 article comparing photos of other sources.

3.1. Bhārhūt (2nd ~ 1st century B.C.)

There is the inscription “Chhaddamtiya jātakam” (I see “chadaṃtiya jātakam” on the photo) on the upper side of the relief of the medallion. There are two scenes separated by a *banyan* tree. The elephant-king with two female elephants is presented on the right side; the standing (normal style) elephant-king whose tusk is to be cut by a saw on the left side. Sugimoto mentions that the normal style of the elephant-king does not show the *bodhisatvacaryā* because of the style of the elephant (not kneeling or bending down), but the normal standing style could be original, and the kneeling is a style that developed at the late time, Sugimoto also maintains that the prose is older than the verse, because the two female elephants were not mentioned in the prose. This may be correct, but an obvious example is in the conclusion in the Pāli, as von Hinüber mentions (cf. fn. 113 and 114).

The number of tusks is “six” which could express “six-colored”, as is mentioned in the Pāli prose *chabbaññāhi rasmīhi* “emitting six-colored rays” Fausbøll p. 37 line 8, and *yamakadante* “a pair of (his) tusks” ibid. p. 44 line 15, but this could be a later addition. The figure of Bhārhūt shows three tusks on one side.

3.2. Sāñchī (1st century B.C. ~ 1st century CE)

This relief shows five scenes in one frame of the south gate (middle part), and the biggest one is the elephant with six tusks (see *supra* 3.1.). It is difficult to see that the

bodhisatvacaryā was recognized in the scene of the elephant lifting up the water-pot, which is a symbol of offering the elephant-tusks. We can see the related scenes also on the upper side of the north gate and the under side of the west gate. If these are indeed scenes from the *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka*, the main theme is resistance on the part of the female elephant, and there is no treatment of the offering of the tusks. The case of Sāñchī shows that the prose of the Pāli *Jātaka* is an old one without Buddhist elements.

3.3. Bodh Gayā (1st century B.C. ~ 1st century CE)

The two scenes are too simple (one is only one elephant and another is a female figure) to determine that these two belong to the *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka*.

3.4. Ajanṭā, the 10th cave (1st century B.C. ~ 1st century CE)

There are some scenes (9 ~ 11) that are painted at random, including the painter's addition (according to Schlingloff, cf. Sugimoto p. 16: the king and queen's worship of the ashes of the elephant-king in the *caitya* painted in the lower part to the right). The scene of the elephant group in the woods or lotus pond is coincident with that of Sāñchī, which shows these to be of a similar time period. The content reflects the prose in the Pāli *Jātaka*, and the elephant-king has six tusks as with Sāñchī. Sugimoto supposes that a conception of *bodhisatvacaryā* begins to be recognized here.

3.5. Gāndhāra (2nd century CE)

The elephant-king has two rather than six tusks. Sugimoto notes the problem that the hunter has nothing with which to cut off the tusks, and that the elephant-king does not remove his tusks by himself, since he includes three moments from the cutting of the tusks. But I suppose that the difference in the scenes is only due to chronologic and synchronic changes. The Gāndhāran relief shows only a simple scene revealing this concept.

3.6. Amarāvatī (2nd ~ 3rd century CE)

There are two medallions and one relief on the *stūpa*-dome that portray the story of the *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka*. I see a pair of tusks in each scene. The first medallion is engraved with five scenes together, which is complicated and difficult to distinguish, but I see an elephant with a pair of tusks, and a man with two tusks on a balance on his shoulder (located at the upper part). If the last scene shows two tusks on both sides of the balance, the number of tusks is four. This is rather strange. I see that two tusks on the left are in the shape of a crescent, while on the other side of the balance, this is not the case, so perhaps this scene shows only two tusks.

3.7. Gummadidurru (3rd century CE)

Here we find two panels, which show the tale of the *Saddanta-Jātaka*. The left features the scene of the queen who asks the king for the tusks of *Saddanta*, and the right panel features the scene where the queen faints when she sees the two elephant tusks on the plate. This shows only the queen's reaction, and omits her respect for the *kāśāya*-robe and offering to the elephant-king (scil. Bodhisattva).

3.8. Goli (3rd century CE)

There are two panels as in Gummadidurru. The left one features three scenes: the elephant-king receiving lotus-flowers, the removal of the tusks with a saw, and a man with one tusk on each side of a balance on his shoulder. The right panel features the scene of the queen as in Gummadidurru.

3.9. Ajantā, the 17th cave (5th ~ 7th century CE)

Here we find nine scenes from the *Saddanta-Jātaka*. The number of tusks here also is two. A special feature is the inclusion of the scene where the elephant-king takes off his own tusk with his trunk. According to Sugimoto (cf. op. cit. p. 19), this denotes the *dānapāramitā* of the Bodhisattva, which is mentioned as a deed of the *dharmakāya* in *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, although the method of removal is different, and is an expression of the Bodhisattva himself in Mahāyāna Buddhism. If this is correct, the *Jātaka* was used for the propagation of Buddhism.

3.10. Qizil (4th ~ 7th century CE)

There are five paintings in the stone caves of Qizil, i.e. caves 14, 17, 38, 118 and 206. Here the number of tusks is also two. All paintings show the theme of the hunter shooting the elephant-king, which would reflect a reproach rather than an offering. I will briefly examine these paintings for the sake of understanding a peculiarity of Tocharian culture via Buddhist art, using the colored photos in *The Grotto Art of China, The Kizil Grottoes Vol. 1–3* Heibonsha, Tokyo 1983–1985. Hereafter I use the abbreviation *ŞaJ.* for the *Saddanta-Jātaka*.

No. 14 (photo No. 47 in Vol. I, explained in p. 194 of Vol. I): *ŞaJ* was painted as one of five *Jātakas*, e.g. *Śaśa-Jātaka*. The white elephant with two tusks was shaded with blue color, and the hooded hunter in blue cloth is trying to shoot an arrow with a bow. Here we can see another elephant in a scene from the *Mahāprabhāsa-Jātaka*, whose color is blue. I suppose that the color is used only for contrast, and not from original colors depicted in the

literature, as is seen in the same cave, i.e. a white horse or white hare in other *Jātakas*.

No. 17 (photo No. 60 in Vol. I, explained in p. 182 of Vol. II and *The Murals of Buddhist Jātaka in Qizil Grottoes 1991*, p. 67–69): SaJ was painted just as in No. 14 in frame No. 2 of 24 frames for other *Jātakas*. The elephant with two tusks was painted in blue, shaded with white color. The hunter's clothing with hood is red ocher. Here I see also the same color as in No. 14 *supra*.

No. 38: There are many murals in this cave, but I cannot find a colored photo. Only a sketch is to be found in *von Le Coq 1975 p. 53 Fig. 162 Aus der Höhle mit dem Musickerchor*, which is “im Museum ausgestellt”, i.e. this mural was taken from Qizil and is now kept in the Berlin Museum, but I also cannot find a photo in the list of *Museum für Indische Kunst* in Berlin (Vol. III). Presumably the site has been destroyed entirely (cf. Vol. III p. 313). I quote the explanation in op. cit. p. 52–53: “Sie zeigt einen Jäger in brauner Kutte, der mit dem Bogen auf einen blauen Elephanten über sich anlegt”. From the sketch and explanation, I recognize the same type as in No. 14 and 17, and the color is used for contrast, and not identified with the literature, i.e. there is not a white elephant, but a blue one. Also I am not sure that the clothing with hood (*Kutte* in German) was Toch. *kāśāya*. If this is so, the Toch. robe for monks was different from India, China and Japan, resembling European style, but Prof. Karashima has suggested to me an elephant-hunter from the *Devadatta-vatthu* in the *Dhammpadatthakathā* (p. 80). I give an abbreviated version of the story from Oikawa 2015 pp. 104–105: “One elephant-hunter saw that elephants worshiped the Pratyekabuddhas and thought that elephants did it because of the *kāśāya*-robe. Then he stole the robe, when the Pratyekabuddha purified himself in a lake. The hunter sat on the way whereby elephants used to travel with a sword in his hand and also a garment on his head (*sasīsam pārupitvā*). After elephants worshipped him, he killed the elephant that was the last in the queue”. Here we can see the important role of *kāśāya*-robe, and the mural in Qizil shows the hunter who wears the *kāśāya*-robe on his body and even on his head for emphasizing the *kāśāya*-robe. A similar description is found in the *Buddhacarita* VI 60–63, especially in verse 62: *anena viśvāsyā mṛgām nihatya* “by this (scil. *kāśāya*-robe) I have inspired animals with confidence and then killed them”.

No. 118: I cannot find a color photo, but a black-and-white photo is available in Grünwedel 1921 p. 108 Fig. 238 *Gemälde auf der Kappenfläche üb. d. Türw.* I cite a short notice in op. cit. p. 106: “Die Mittelgruppe ist dort ein kniender Bogenschütze, der auf einen weißen Elephanten anlegt”. The hunter is presented as larger than the elephant, and he has clothing without a sleeve on the right shoulder, and with a white cup on his head. The white elephant is shaded in blue (?) color, with the shape of two tusks. Presumably, this scene is not based closely on SaJ. or the painter had no understanding of the content of SaJ.

No. 206 (photo No. 131 in Vol. III): The elephant in white is drawn with thin lines without gradation. The hunter is painted in the same way as others in clothing with hood (see *supra*). I believe the artist had a poor understanding of elephants, because the elephant's head is far too small.

So far I have investigated the philological materials and murals to learn more about the development of the *Saddanta-Jātaka* for the sake of revealing the unique features of the Toch. version. Next I will follow Sugimoto's argument (op. cit. p. 21–24), and offer my own opinion.

This *Jātaka* was originally a tale of a nun's previous incarnation, which involved the jealousy of the female elephant (= nun), the revenge on the elephant-king, and its consequences. This is proved by engravings in Bhārhūt and Sañchī, which correspond to the Pāli version. Comparing engravings, there is no part of the first half in the verses in Pāli, so the proses was produced in an older phase.

Ajanṭā No. 10 shows the kneeling elephant, which, according to Sugimoto, reflects the second stage of the *Saddanta-Jātaka*, and the first half of the *Jātaka* is illustrated extensively, which is still the first stage. Thus, Sugimoto thinks Ajanṭā No. 10 is a stage of transition, but I think that the kneeling style could be a chronological and synchronic variation. The dogmatic change as identified below is the more important factor.

Gāndhāra, Amarāvatī, Gunmmadidurru, and Goli detail a second stage, in the narrative in which the elephant-king became the incarnation of the Bodhisattva, and the offering of tusks became *bodhisatvacaryā*, i.e. *Jātaka* of a nun develops into that of the Bodhisattva and the Buddha.

The next stage is that where the elephant removes his tusks by himself in various dramatic ways, e.g. he inserts his tusks into a gap between a stone or tree, or uses his trunk to remove them. We see that this is the *dānapāramitā* of Bodhisattva, which made this *Jātaka* more dramatic. Most of the versions depict this stage, and there is no fundamental difference between north and south, or Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. In this sense, the Toch. is in a rather developed stage, but with local peculiarity, namely, the story of *svayaṃvara*.

The *kāṣāya*-robe, which the hunter took, did not appear in earlier times, but was inserted later as a kind of Buddhism decoration. There was no difference fundamentally between north and south, but in the north and thus in the Mahāyāna, pity on the enemy (scil. the hunter) was added to the *kāṣāya*-robe (cf. Sugimoto p. 22). Belonging to the (Mūla)sarvāstivāda and Hīnayāna, the Toch. shows the same, presumably because the Toch. was influenced by northern Buddhism. But the *kāṣāya*-robe, if indeed the black robe with hood is really that, is clearly observed only in Qizil. Therefore, Sugimoto supposes that the

kāśāya-robe that is associated with pity for enemies was established in Central Asia (Sugimoto p. 23). The hunter in the Bear-*Jātaka* wears an ordinary cloth in No. 17, and in No. 188 he wears nothing on the upper half of his body. As far as I see in Qizil, the *kāśāya*-robe is worn by the Buddha. The Bodhisattva typically wears nothing on the upper half of his body, and instead only ornaments. I have discussed the *kāśāya*-robe of the hunter *supra*, and along with this, I would cite another possibility for the Toch. *kāśāya*-robe painted on the walls, Foucher 1917 p. 198: “it is no longer sufficient that the clothes of the hunter should be naturally of a reddish-brown, like those of that hunter (also of all people of low caste)”. If this depiction can be adapted to Toch. murals, the hunter’s garment could be coarse like the cloths of people of low caste. This could be 糞掃衣 “shit-wiping cloth”, which means a garment sewed with dirty fabric, 糞掃 *pun^hsaw^h* is a phonetic translation from Skt. *pāṇsu* (Mahāvyutpatti 8672). It is also possible that the Toch. painters did not understand the *kāśāya*-robe in relation to hunters, though Buddhist monks certainly understood Skt. texts for their translations.

III. Comparison with other elephants

Now I will examine other elephants in art-historical materials to make clear the concept of the *Ṣaddanta*. According to Hultsch (1925: p. 50) and Janert (1977: 3, 71), in the Kālsī inscription, we can see an elephant with two tusks including the inscription *gajatame* “the best of the elephants”. Janert points out that this elephant is in a pose suggesting he is descending through the air, and this could be directly connected with the motif of the *Jātaka* concerning Māyā’s conception of the Buddha (cf. Deeg 2010, p. 100 fn. 28). Deeg thinks that the feature of the six tusks of the elephant could be a later development, and could reflect influence from the *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka* (cf. ibid. p. 101), and he cites the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* 192: “He has six tusks because he will proclaim the six great, good *anusmṛtis*, which remove all *kleśas*”. Yet “six tusks” appears only in the beginning and at a later time in Tibet (cf. Sugimoto pp. 27–33, see the next paragraph below).

4.1. The number of tusks in the *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka* in murals:

I see two groups when I observe the number of tusks, i.e. six and two. The first group that reflects six tusks is found in Bhārhūt, Sāñchī, Ajanṭā No. 10 (and Tibet 19th century CE, cf. Sugimoto p. 33); the second group is found in Amarāvatī, Gummadidurru, Ajanṭā No. 17 and Qizil. It is obvious that the first group is older than the second, and the

Toch. belongs to the second one. “Six” could mean “six-colored”, as I have already mentioned above, because of the Pāli *chabbanñāhi rasmīhi* “emitting six-colored rays” (Fausbøll p. 37 line 8), and the number of tusks is two because of *yamakadante* “a pair of tusks” (ibid. p. 44 line 15), which might be an added description for the *Saddanta-Jātaka* as an explanation of verses. It is possible that the artistic works should reflect the dramatic elephant-king for the sake of distinguishing him from other elephants. Afterward, in the second group of materials there was no need for him to be exaggerated because of the importance of the concept of the Bodhisattva for the elephant-king, but in scribal documents the confusion of “six” or “six-colored” remained, and “six” was predominant because of exaggeration, as Sugimoto mentions that dramatization is observed in Buddhist literatures (cf. Sugimoto p. 23). A similar case can be found in the elephant appearing in Māyā’s conception of the Buddha, i.e. the elephant is the incarnation of the Buddha (version A, cf. Deeg 2010 p. 106) or the Buddha is on the elephant (version B, ibid.). Version A was the original, but in China version B was dominant from a very early time, because of local influence for the sake of the exaggeration. Of course, there was not only one reason for this changing: many other grounds should be considered.

Interestingly, I find a possible dual form *āñkarū* — as I mentioned (cf. fn. 3 *supra*) — in the Toch. If *āñkarū* is really the dual form, the Toch. took over the original text in that time. Toch. -ū (phonologically /-u/) can be recognized as a dual ending, because there existed the pl. ending /-i/.

4.2. Elephants painted in the murals in Qizil:

We find some paintings of elephants in Qizil caves. I cite these paintings from *Mural paintings in Xinjiang of China, Vol. 1-3*, which includes the murals in Berlin and also Qizilgaha, and is divided chronologically from the 3rd century until the 8th century CE, but I do not identify the specific periods, because I cannot understand the concrete difference between them. Thus, I cite the pictures with the name of the *Jātaka* and the cave number in Qizil: No. 38 *Mahāprabhāsa-Jātaka*, white elephant with blue lines; No. 192 Lion and elephant-*Jātaka*, white and brown elephant with white snake; No. 80 white elephant with monkey; No. 17 Elephant-*Jātaka*, blue and white elephant; No. 17 *Saddanta-Jātaka*, blue elephant whose color was originally white; No. 17 *Mahāprabhāsa-Jātaka*, white elephant with black which was added later; No. 14 *Mahāprabhāsa-Jātaka*, blue elephant which was originally white; No. 14 *Saddanta-Jātaka*, white elephant with blue lines which were painted afterward; No. 206 *Saddanta-Jātaka*, white elephant, which is the original (cf. *supra*); No. 224 Sumatī’s fate, Aniruddha sits on three white elephants¹¹⁵; No. 179 Elephant-*Jātaka*, a

¹¹⁵ These three elephants could be *Airāvana*, *Upasatha* and *Chaddanta*. From the brahmanical point of view, an

black elephant; No. 80 A drunk elephant which tries to kill the Buddha, a white elephant; No. 80 A bird on the head of a monkey, which sits on a white elephant; No. 8 a white elephant which offers his flesh; No. 176 a kneeling white elephant with blue color which is painted afterward; No. 186 *Mahāprabhāsa-Jātaka*, blue elephant (photo is not so clear); No. 198 *Mahāprabhāsa-Jātaka*, a blue elephant.

All elephants are typically painted in white, but other animals, e.g. hares or horses, are also in white. I suppose that the colors of murals depended on the contrast of the paintings. Some are painted in blue afterward. One time in Qizil I saw a green color over the crack, suggesting that the murals had been repaired in later years, as is done in Ladakh in north India. Of course, the white elephant is mentioned in written texts. That could be also a contrast in image, or a dramatization.

Another famous elephant is found in Māyā's conception of the Buddha. This white elephant was represented with six or two tusks. It is not clear that there is a relation with that of the *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka*. It is possible that there is an influence from one side, but there is no clear mural of the conception of Māyā in Qizil. According to Deeg, the black-and-white photo of Yaldiz 1987 pl. 45 and text 80 (MIK III 8376 from No. 110 Treppenhöhle) is the "Dream of Māyā", but the mural itself is damaged, and the elephant is not clear, Māyā is lying on her right side, so that the elephant cannot enter her from the right side of her armpit. I cannot find another depiction of Māyā's conception in Qizil, and thus I cannot investigate the problem from Toch. murals in Qizil.

IV. Conclusion

The *Ṣaddanta-Jātaka* was created in India and spread throughout Buddhist regions, becoming one of the most famous *Jātakas*. Initially, this tale was presumably a story about the jealousy of a female elephant and was perhaps a regional narrative, and was only later used as propaganda for Buddhism, which incorporated various regional tales for easy comprehension among the local people. Also, the differing contents depend on different Buddhist schools. I see similar content in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*.

In Toch. we can see a peculiarity that did not exist in other regions, namely a tale of *svayaṃvara*, which was absorbed into Uig. The Toch. Buddhism was heavily influenced by that of India, e.g. Skt. names of monks, many Skt./Toch. bilingual texts, and word-for-word

elephant with six tusks carries Indra. If Burnouf's opinion is right (Indra's ride has three heads, and Feer is contra, cf. Feer p. 51), the three heads have six tusks. I am not sure at all about this problem, but a six-tusked elephant could originate from a brahmanical concept (cf. Feer p. 51).

translation from Skt. into Toch. When there was no corresponding word or grammar, they made new binomial word combinations or even created new grammatical structures, e.g. the use of the Toch. ablative form for the absolute in Skt. This Skt. was almost proper, or was so-called Buddhist hybrid Skt, which did not always stem from India directly, but also could be translated from Chin., because there was no trace of Prākrit or Gāndhārī, which was used at a former time. Presumably, Skt. was used as the *lingua franca* just like Latin in Europe. Meanwhile Toch. kept old Indo-German features, e.g. optative or dual. In this circumstance, the Skt. *svayamvara* was added for the sake of propaganda, and presumably an old dual form *āñkarū* “a pair of tusks” was used in Toch. (which is an old Indo-German feature).

From the murals we can see another unique feature. The number of tusks was originally six, as was depicted on murals for the sake of the dramatization or exaggeration of the elephant-king. “Six colors” was mentioned in Pāli text, but it could have been added after the 2nd or 3rd century CE, as the murals after 2nd – 3rd century CE show. I am not certain of this, but I remember an elephant with three tusks from one root on one side in a Gāndhāran relief, i.e. possibly “two” tusks with “six-colors”. Presumably, there was a change of focus or importance, i.e. from the killing of the elephant because of jealousy (materialism) to the Buddhist theme of *dānapāramitā* “offering perfection” (spiritualism). In the Toch. we witness this stage, and there was also respect for the *kāṣāya*-robe, which might have stemmed from an admiration of Indic culture, but painters might not have known, how to depict a *kāṣāya* for a hunter, while they knew of the *kāṣāya* of the Buddha.

Abbreviation and Symbols:

Skt.: Sanskrit	phoneme interpretation: / /
T: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō	damaged <i>akṣara</i> (s): []
THT: Tocharische Handschriften aus Turfan	restored <i>akṣara</i> (s): ()
Toch.: Tocharian	correction: (←) or (→)
Uig.: Uigur	interlinear insertion: « »
adj.: adjective	omitted <i>akṣara</i> (s): < >
subj.: subjunctive	superfluous <i>akṣara</i> (s): { }
fn.: footnote	lost <i>akṣara</i> : "+"
gen.: genitive	illegible <i>akṣara</i> : ".."
nom.: nominative	illegible part of <i>akṣara</i> : ". "
obl.: oblique (case)	traditional diaeresis over <i>akṣara</i> : ^ā : "···"
p.p.: past participle	string hole: ○
pl.: plural	non-syllabic <i>u</i> : "u"
pres.: present	<i>virāma</i> line: " , "
	<i>virāma</i> sign over <i>akṣara</i> : "*"
	punctuation: • and :

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